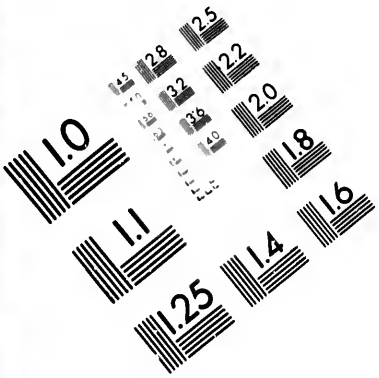

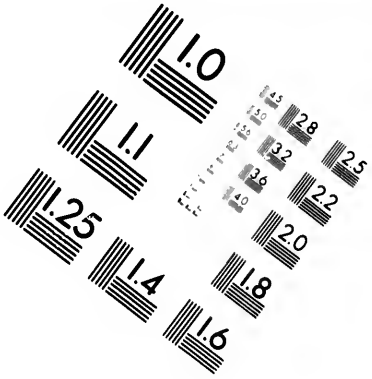

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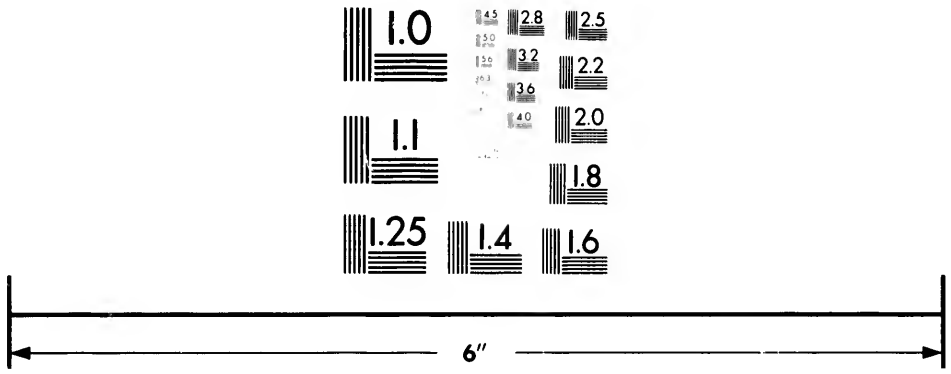

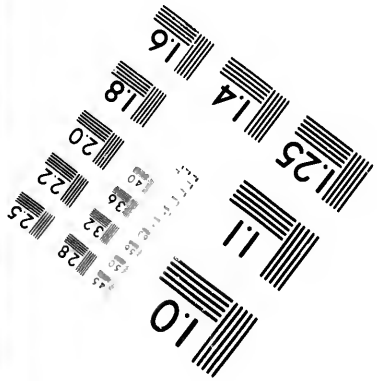

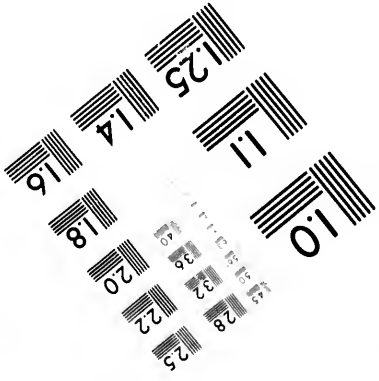

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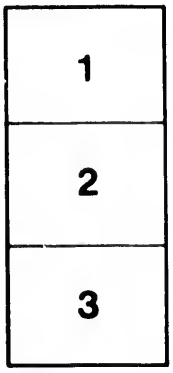

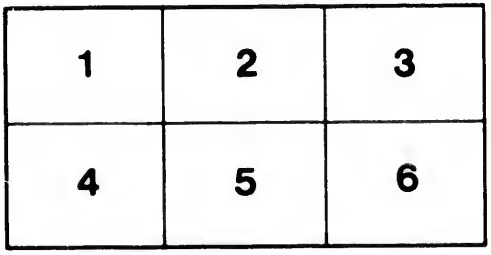

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UNITED STATES UNMASKED.

A SEARCH INTO THE CAUSES

OF

THE RISE AND PROGRESS

OF

THESE STATES,

AND AN

EXPOSURE OF THEIR PRESENT MATERIAL AND MORAL CONDITION.

BY

G. MANIGAULT.

LONDON, ONTARIO:
J. H. VIVIAN, 398 CLARENCE STREET.
1878.

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PREFACE.

The author of this little book lately made several efforts to get it published in the United States. But even those publishers, whose political and social convictions carry them a long way with him in the views herein expressed, shrank from becoming god-fathers to his bantling. To do so would jeopardize their business interests, which are dependent on popular favour. For a people may fall into such a condition, that the grossest offence you can give them, is to tell them the truth of themselves.

This obstacle has induced the author to bring out his book in Canada, in a form somewhat abridged—thus retaining some control over the copyright elsewhere.

THE UNITED STATES UNMASKED.

A

SEARCH INTO THE CAUSES OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE U. S. AND AN EXPOSURE OF THEIR PRESENT MATERIAL AND MORAL CONDITION.

CHAPTER I.

The Reasons for entering on this Inquiry.

THE overweening tone in which the people of the United States have long been boasting of their country, their government, and themselves, coupled with the vast and peculiar, but accidental advantages, long enjoyed by the inhabitants of these states, has gained for them a reputation for wisdom in the organization of their political institutions, and in the conduct of their affairs, to which they have little claim.

There is indeed much in the history and progress of this monster republic to excite the wonder of the world. Not even Imperial, and later, Papal Rome ever exercised, by the mere force of opinion disseminated from it as a centre, a wider and vaster influence over the nations of the earth, than the United States have done for many

years past. Not only have the old and highly civilized monarchies of Europe been convulsed, and some of them revolutionized, through the spreading of political doctrines and social theories, which, if they did not originate, germinated and now flourish in this paradise of democracy, where their fruits are fast maturing, if not yet quite ripe; but these convictions and dogmas in social science, emanating from the United States, now bear sway over the half barbarous republics of Mexico and South America, over the growing democracies of Australia and South Africa, and their influence seems to be felt in the remote, and, until lately, secluded empires of China and Japan.

The popular voice throughout the world has attributed the progress, prosperity, and power of the United States to the wisdom and justice of the political institutions generated there. These they believe have secured the happy condition of the people; these have fostered that wonderful skill and energy which is speedily developing the latent resources of half a continent. This conviction has led the populace, wherever they have been awakened to the consideration of their political and social condition, to hail the United States as the pattern held up before the eyes of all mankind, to guide them in remodelling the institutions of their country, and in establishing the principles which here on earth are to regenerate humanity.

But a vigilant and impartial observer, looking at the United States from different stand points within and without, and studying their history through the different periods of their career, can detect the grossly exaggerated misconceptions prevailing in Europe and elsewhere, as to

the prosperity of the United States, and as to the sources of it; and also as to the results of the democratic form of government adopted there. And when he has detected not only these gross misconceptions, but the vast and wide spread mischief already done by receiving them as truths, he is bound in common honesty to point them out.

Without attempting an exact arrangement of our matter under the following heads, we will endeavour substantially to prove:

1. That whatever wisdom and principles of justice may have promoted the prosperity of the states now known as the United States, they did not originate there, but were brought in from abroad, and have there deteriorated rather than improved.

2. That under the guidance of this imported wisdom and justice, a vast and rare combination of natural advantages built up the prosperity of these states.

3. That the natural and material advantages they enjoyed were not more freely and eagerly used, than wastefully abused and exhausted.

4 That, far from having made moral progress with their growth, the forty millions of people in the United States are most strongly characterized by their unblushing political, social and financial corruption.

CHAPTER II.

The Causes of the rapid Progress and Prosperity of the thirteen English Colonies which became States.

America was long and is still, at times, called the New World, a name correct only in this sense: it was newly known to the people of Europe, and that higher civilization, long existing in Europe, was new to this western continent. But the races now dominant in America are not new either to history or civilization. They are the offspring of detachments from the peoples of England, Spain, Portugal and France, sent, or rather coming out as colonists, and long governed and protected by the countries from which they came.

Confining our remarks to the colonists from England we will point out the peculiar advantages which, beyond those of the colonists of any other nation, they brought out with them from home, and met with in America. Let the reader consider how rare and happy, yet unforeseen, was that concurrence of circumstances which combined to secure the success of these English settlements on the North American coast.

1. The mother country was a powerful nation, and especially strong at sea. This enabled it to protect its remotest colony against every other maritime power. That country moreover was blessed with a wiser code of laws and freer institutions than any other nation. In civilization, arts, science, and literature it had no superior,

if any equal. And, above all, Christianity had there shaken off the trammelling corruptions of the Church of Rome.

2. The colonists not only brought out with them the laws and institutions which they had inherited with the rest of their countrymen, but they were a selection of the more enterprising individuals from among the most enterprising of nations and races; a people distinguished by their industry, energy, inventive powers, and individual self-reliance. This peculiarly fitted them to make their way in the New World.

3. Most fortunate was it for these English colonists that the Spaniards, running after the *ignis fatuus* of an *Eldorado* in tropical America, had got the start of them by their conquests in the West Indies, and in Mexico and Peru. But for that, the prospect of speedy gain, in its most tempting form, would have diverted the English, in the pursuit of gold, from an enterprise which led to their peopleing with their offspring the better half of the continent.

4. The region most accessible to English enterprise on the coast of North America lay between the latitudes 31 and 43, North. In the greater part of this region they found a temperate climate and much fertile soil; and it abounded with natural productions continually reminding the colonists of their old home. If, on close inspection of these specimens from the animal or vegetable kingdom, the Englishman found the species different, yet the genus was apt to be the same with that so well known to him from boyhood. Nature in many, and the most obvious of her productions, here and in England,

often ran in wonderfully parallel lines, rarely coinciding, seldom far apart. If the colonist wandered through the woods, he found oaks, beeches, elms, pines, hollies, and other sylvan denizens strongly recalling to him England's forest trees. He started from the covert the buck and the doe, the smaller representatives of the genus of the stag and the hind, and worthy compeers of the fallow deer he had so often seen in English parks. On his approach the hare started from her form, the covey of the partridge or the quail flurried him by their sudden whirling flight from almost beneath his feet; and he detected the stealthy fox springing quickly out of sight. Standing on the bank of the rivulet he watched the perch and speckled trout gliding down the stream, the heron wading in its waters, the eagle soaring over head, and he heard the voice of the dove cooing in the woods. Throughout the more conspicuous objects of organized nature he was seldom at a loss for an English name for the new object so like that which he had left behind him in the old country; and he instinctively felt that he had found a new home, in which his race could live and thrive and spread itself over regions seemingly without bounds.

5. These English colonists enjoyed another peculiar advantage on which, in order that it may be duly estimated, we shall comment more at length.

No numerous people, as in Mexico, Peru, and many other lands coveted by ambitious and enterprising nations in Europe, here already pre-occupied the soil. Yet the country was not uninhabited. Many scattered savage tribes, engaged in endless war with each other, which kept down their numbers, roamed over rather than occu-

pied the country. This race, here at least, had not advanced beyond the hunting stage of man's pursuits. They had taken no step towards becoming a pastoral people, having domesticated no animal, not even the dog; and if they had taken a step towards tilling the soil, it was only by the casual labour of their women, to supply tobacco for their pipes, and maize for the green corn festival. So straitened and uncertain were their means of living that the population between the Atlantic and the far west did not furnish one soul to the square mile.

It is true that this savage race fiercely resisted the intrusion of the foreigners upon their hunting grounds. But by this the colonies gained far more than they lost. This slender cordon of hostile savages tended to compact each colony into a well-organized body politic. It must not be forgotten that, however necessary government may be in every phase of society, it is always a burden and restraint, tolerated only as a safeguard against more intolerable evils. If, on the first settling of the country, the colonists had been free to range over the continent, with no human enemy to hold them in check, what chance would there have been of preserving the civilization and law-abiding habits they had brought with them from home? When all the more enterprising spirits had become hunters and trappers, *voyageurs* and ramblers through the wilds of the backwoods, and the broad prairies beyond them, what means would have been left for maintaining a defensible settlement on the coast, to keep up the interest of, and the intercourse with, the mother-country? and to resist the attacks of European marauders who, as it was, utterly destroyed some of the earlier colonies?

This cordon of savage enemies maintained the martial energies of the earlier settlers by calling them at times into activity; while it preserved their civil organization, their social relations, and their industry, by driving them to avail themselves of the agricultural, pastoral, and sylvan resources already in their possession, or easily within their reach; thus establishing the colony on a solid, profitable and permanent footing, tending rapidly to enable it to sustain itself against all enemies. The truth is that, in spite of the bloody and disastrous Indian wars, of which we hear so much in colonial history, as soon as the growth and prosperity of any of the colonies really called for an expansion of its borders, an energetic effort of the colonial government, even without aid from England, seldom failed to procure for it all the room needed for the growth of the colony for years to come.

The case is quite different when the attempt to establish a colony is made in a country where another people are already in occupation of the soil. If inferior in warlike qualities, in arts and civilization, the natives may be easily conquered, but not easily exterminated. However merciless the slaughter in war, the convenience and the necessities of the conquerors almost always lead them to spare no small part of the subjected people.

The Spaniards conquered Mexico and Peru three hundred and fifty years ago; and they proved themselves merciless conquerors, slaughtering a large portion of two numerous nations, and stripping the survivors of everything that could swell the spoils of the victors. From that day they became, and are still, the dominant class; but they utterly failed to supplant the native race; and,

while the descendants of the Spaniards in Mexico little exceed one million, those of the conquered people number seven times that amount. The case is very similar in Peru. The cultivation of the soil, and the arts most essential to the support and comforts of life are still dependent in both countries on the labour and skill of the primitive race. The Spanish colonies in America seem to have made little progress in civilization; and of late, after half a century of freedom from the domination of old Spain, their course seems to be rather retrograde than progressive.

More than two centuries have passed since the English began to make those territorial acquisitions in India, which now embrace the whole and more than the whole of that great and fertile peninsula. Yet the Britons in India are, to this day, but an army of occupation, garrisoning the strong-holds which command the strategetic and commercial points, and the lines of communication. There is not in India even the semblance of a British colony. A vast, industrious, and skilful native population fill all the lower and many of the higher callings by which the mass of Europeans, in their own country, earn a living; and the climate in India is a yet more insuperable bar to emigrants from Europe than the presence of an industrious and skilful native population.

But even where the climate is as suitable to the conquering invaders as to the conquered natives, it is difficult for the new-comers to supplant the others.

Few countries are more blessed with physical advantages—more favoured in soil, climate and geographic position and features, than Ireland. If the Normans of

England, and their Anglo-Saxon followers, in their expeditions to Ireland in the twelfth century, had found it an uninhabited country, in no long time they would have added to the dominions of the English sovereigns territories equivalent to thirty English counties, differing little in the character of their population, and in the culture and development of their resources, from the fifty-two counties of England and Wales. Great as the wealth and power of England were even then, these thirty new counties, homogeneous with those east of the narrow Irish Sea, becoming practically a part of the kingdom of England, would have added more than one-half to its power: and Ireland would have been as much and more akin to England than Northumberland to Kent.

But as it was, Ireland has proved to England as much a source of weakness as of strength. The invaders from England found Ireland, in the twelfth century, already occupied by a numerous people in the occupation of the soil; and they persistently, although unsuccessfully, resisted the invaders. The superiority of the latter in civilization, discipline, arms and armour, and also in race, rendered numbers unavailing against them; for the conquerors of Ireland were of the Teutonic race, which has proved itself superior to all others. The conquered people were Celts, a race endowed also with high qualities, and inferior only to the Teutonic. Moreover, the descendants of the old Danish and other Scandinavian invaders and settlers in Ireland were now, by this new invasion, mingled with the Celtic people, and were equally zealous in opposing the new-comers. The result was that Ireland, although conquered and held by the

English for seven centuries, is Irish still. The Celtic population, not being exterminated, but only subjected, multiplied in spite of the subject position they held in their own country; and they engrossed all the laborious and lower occupations, forming an impassable barrier to the influx of colonists who might have brought English industry, arts, habits, and ideas into Ireland. In the earlier half of this century the population rose to much more than eight millions, of which number seven millions were of Celtic blood, and not one and a half millions were the descendants of the armed or of the pacific invaders of the country centuries ago—Ireland was Irish still.

It is only since about the middle of this century that famine and other powerful influences, among which the chief was the increased facilities and inducements to emigration, have cut down the population of Ireland by nearly three millions. One would have supposed that Ireland would be now less Irish than it was. But the dominant people have utterly failed to assimilate the Irish to themselves. The animosity of the Celtic Irish against the English and their connection with England, and yet more against the class in their own country who, although with them there for centuries, have not become one with them, (and whom they still call Saxons) never was, perhaps, more intense than at this day.

When we consider the utter failure ofthe English to colonize India,and their slowand small success in colonizing Ireland, where complete and speedy success seemed certain; and when we contrast these failures with their unrivalled and wonderful success in North America, we must see that great natural and social causes placed in-

superable obstacles in their way in the former cases, and that a rare combination of circumstances afforded them the greatest facilities in the last. It is true that the people of Great Britain, the English and lowland Scotch, are peculiarly fitted for these great enterprises of colonization, and that the French and Spaniards attempting similar undertakings, often with greater means, never achieved half as much. But, in the planting of the thirteen colonies on the North American coast, everything combined to secure success so speedy and permanent, that the history of colonization can tell us of nothing that rivals it.

Let the reader take in the full import of this fact: In many parts of this newly settled country the wide expanse of virgin soil continued to yield so ready and abundant a return to the labours of the husbandman, as here first in the history of man to afford a reliable series of facts, from which could be inferred the rate of possible increase of the human species, where population does not press upon the means of subsistence; the increase not being checked by the difficulty of obtaining food. Before the settlement of these English colonies, who ever heard of any region of country doubling its population in eighteen or twenty years by natural increase?

In commenting on the splendid success of this colonization which, in little more than two centuries, expanded itself, in a belt a thousand miles wide, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, over a region nearly as large as Europe, we must not forget that the causes of this success, both moral and material, operated far more vigorously in the earlier than in the latter part of that time. This becomes

plain to us when we consider the moral and material influences promoting this prosperity and progress.

As we have said, the colonists, being Englishmen, brought with them English institutions and civilization. They were an energetic and enterprising detachment of the Anglo-Saxon people, trained up in the practical English school of laws, liberties, and acquired and vested rights; not in modern theories as to human equality and the so-called inalienable rights of man. As colonists they were long protected, influenced, and in a measure controlled by the mother country, which had frequent communication with the remotest settlements. Many of the more successful colonists, especially in the South, sent their sons, and not seldom, their daughters to England for education, continuing this for generations, and still speaking of England as 'home.' And such it still was in the best sense; for from thence was derived almost all that was worth preserving in political, social, and intellectual attainments. For in religion, law, letters, morals, manners, America, with all its claims to inventing and capacity for appropriating, has done little to improve, much to corrupt that which it has derived from England.

The earlier emigrants, not strictly English, who sought homes in these English colonies, were of descriptions highly desirable in this new country, but were not numerous enough to change materially the character of the population. On the revocation of the edict of Nantes, in 1685, many French Protestants, a class in character, education, and industry, far above the average of the French people, sought homes in America to escape

persecution for their faith. Many lowland Scotch, and Scotch-Irish from the North-east of Ireland, zealous Protestants and noted for their industry and thrift, migrated to these colonies. Under the patronage of the crown and of some of the colonial governments several numerous bodies of agricultural emigrants from Northern and Protestant Germany were brought into the country. The original colonists of New York were Hollanders, so that the people of twelve out of thirteen colonies were of Teutonic origin, and their Christianity was represented by Protestant churches; Maryland or rather Baltimore and its neighbourhood being the only settlement where the Celtic race and the church of Rome were strongly represented.

The government with which the colonists were in actual and daily contact, on all the most vital points of political and social life, was the colonial government of each colony. These had been modelled after that of Great Britain; and, at a later day, they were not so much changed as modified into the State governments, to adapt them to their new condition of independence of the British crown. Internally the change was not great; the political and legal institutions of the individual states continuing to bear the marks of their Anglo-Saxon origin, not only stamped upon them, but interwoven in their fibre. The Anglo-Saxon race, long and overwhelmingly predominated in the population, controlling public affairs, popular opinion, and the whole tone of society. The 'English common law' is still of force in almost every state of the Union, except on those points on which its provisions have been expressly altered by

statute. In fact the law has been so much altered in the last forty years in England, that more of the old English common law is, or was lately in force in some of the states than in England itself.

These local governments were sustained chiefly by direct taxes, which were seldom burdensome in amount. Now there is nothing men are more vigilant against and more intolerant of than high and unnecessary taxation, when they know that the money comes out of their own pockets. And this each man must know under the open and honest system of direct taxation. This secured both honesty and economy in the expenditure of the revenues of the colonies, and afterwards of the States. There was in consequence just government enough to protect society, but no further interference with men's private pursuits, under pretence of taking care of, and benefiting individuals. There was no fund to maintain a wide patronage, to be used as the means of bribing and buying up supporters of those in power; and men ambitious of public life more often impoverished than enriched themselves by holding office.

The vast expanse of territory west of the colonies, and, for a long time, of the states, served as a vent and safety-valve to relieve these not too rigid and exacting governments of the task of controlling the more restless and enterprising, and also the more turbulent and criminal portion of the population. The dangerous classes, as the French call them, those who in most countries task the vigilance of the police, and the energies of the government to watch and control them, here, from the first settlement of the country, steadily tended towards the

back-woods. Their watchword was 'Westward ho!' They sought the unrestrained and adventurous life of the frontier. The better class became hunters and trappers in the fur trade, the worse divided their energies between trafficing with and cheating the indians, and slaughtering them out of the way of advancing civilization.

Here we must say that the history of the colonies and of the United States and numberless documents connected with that history, tells us of peace and war with the indian tribes, of negotiation, treaties and traffic with them. But they do not and cannot tell us all that occurred between the two races, but only what passed on the public stage. Behind the scenes, from the early times of the colonies until now, an unceasing skirmish has been waged along the receding frontier on which the indian yet lingers. Here he stands face to face with persevering enemies who have been for centuries intruding on his haunts. Many of these enemies are there, because civilized society, unable longer to tolerate their presence, had thrust them out beyond its pale. We will not stop to censure or defend this conflict of two hundred years. Perhaps the nature and position of the two races rendered it unavoidable. But we will illustrate by an anecdote the feelings and the deeds engendered among the whites on the frontier.

"We who first came out to this neighbourhood lived a rough life" said an old settler to a traveller in the West." We were close on the indian frontier, and the red devils never far from us. Do you know, young man, how I sometimes got my venison?"

"I suppose you hunted and shot the deer," said the traveller.

"Not always, youngster" answered the old man with a glance at once cunning and fierce. "More than once, while hunting in the woods, I have heard the crack of a rifle; and creeping stealthily that way have come upon a redskin ripping up a fine buck or doe, which he had killed when I heard the shot."

"He had the advantage of you" said the traveller "being before hand with you in the sport."

"Not so!" said the old frontiersman "I had the advantage of him."

"How so? What did you do?"

I looked carefully around, and listened for a while; and if the signs showed that he was a single hunter, with no companions near—

"What then?" exclaimed the traveller.

"I shot the indian, and took the deer."

"You did! That was very like murder. But of course it was in time of war"

"Murder!" said the old man scornfully. "We did not give it that name on the frontier. Some people may call it so now. I can not remember whether there was war or peace between the government and the tribes just then. But there was seldom such peace between us borderers and the red-skins, that we lost an opportunity of paying off old scores, when there was no witness at hand to bring us into trouble."

The colonies and afterwards the States usually enjoyed almost complete exemption from the heaviest burden upon the resources of nations. The greatest outlay a

government usually has to make is expended on those elaborate preparations necessary to secure the country against the ambition and hostility of near and powerful neighbours. Armies and fleets, fortresses and arsenals, stored with costly materials of war, are usually the greedy devourers of a nation's revenues. But the English colonies felt little of this burden. The task and cost of defending them fell chiefly on the mother-country. And when at length they became states, and had worked their way through the struggle for independence, they found themselves without any strong neighbour on the same continent with them, nor in the least danger of invasion; and thus under no necessity to expend much in keeping up a large military force. For eighty years after 1781 the permanent military and naval force of the United States, when compared with that of other countries, was, or seemed, ridiculously small for their resources. The country enjoyed a unique exemption from that heavy burden with which most nations were compelled to saddle themselves.

But the chief and most obvious source of prosperity to the colonists and to their descendants for several generations, securing to them immense success in their agricultural enterprises, sprang from the fact that they were cultivating virgin soil.

If we could trace the history of agriculture from the first invention of the plough, we would be apt to find that the unfailing process, in every land, has been to wear out the field to barrenness by successive croppings, then to clear a new field and go through the same routine for extracting from it all that could be turned into

profit. Not until the whole of his land had been robbed of its fertility did any farmer think of using means and labour to recuperate the soil. But the colonist in America, and his descendants for generations, seldom felt themselves to be reduced to this laborious and irksome necessity. Virgin soil and fertile land seemed to be here without limit. And if, in a generation or two, the once fertile fields in his neighbourhood proved to be exhausted, the farmer had only to move westward.

'To-morrow to fresh woods and pastures new,'

This craving of the farmer for fresh and fertile soil gave quite as powerful an impulse, as the enterprising and energetic character of the people, to the rapid extension of settlements across the whole breadth of the continent. The American farmer, moving steadily westward for generations, has been sowing his seed in the virgin soil enriched by centuries of vegetation perishing on and manuring the spot in which it grew. He has been like a dairy-man who could churn a vast quantity of butter, having an unlimited amount of cream to skim.

We may here remark that it is curious to trace, through certain returns as to nativities found in the U. S. census for 1850, how the natives of different states on the Atlantic coast, in migrating westward, generally followed the parallels of latitude of their old homes, and that where, in the South, they in some cases varied from it, their course oftener tended to the North than to the South. Doubtless they were guided by a natural craving for a cooler climate, more congenial to people of the Caucasian race than that in which they had been located.

Could we count, weigh, and measure all the vast and unique advantages accumulated upon the people of these States beyond those of other countries, we would not wonder at the rapid flood of prosperity that poured in upon them, and on which, for a time, they swam so buoyantly; nor that multitudes of the needy and the malcontent in the populous countries of western Europe turned their faces towards it, as the Israelites to the promised land.

CHAPTER III.

How Long was this Singular Prosperity to Last?

Was its permanence secured by the operation of permanent causes? Were there no evil agencies of any kind at work sapping its foundations? We will search them out and try to arrange them in their natural order.

We have seen that the people of these English settlements on the Atlantic coast, while they continued colonies, and after they became States, enjoyed the inestimable blessing of living under governments which were efficient and yet not burdensome. They aimed at nothing more than to administer justice among the people, and to protect them against foreign enemies. And this is all that any people need demand of any government under which they live. Everything else the people, either as individuals, or through voluntary associations, can do better for themselves. Under political institutions, which trammelled neither their occupations nor their movements, the people throve and spread so rapidly, that there soon sprang up, far west of the States on the coast, a need for the organization of new local governments, like those of the States from which this swelling tide of emigrants had issued.

For that debatable land on which the long and bloody skirmish was ever being fought between the native red man and the intruding white adventurers—this moving

frontier was withdrawing into the far west, while behind it the wilderness was becoming, step by step, a settled and cultivated country; bearing the marks and yielding the products of civilized industry, the fruits of which are eagerly sought after in the markets of the commercial world.

But in the mean while an unforeseen change was taking place in the nature and aims of government throughout the country. And this change, at first slow in movement, proceeded with ever accelerating steps, which we must trace out briefly.

The better to carry on the war begun in 1776 for the establishment of their independence of the mother country, the thirteen colonies had united themselves into a confederacy by a treaty called 'The Articles of Confederation,' which by express agreement were to be perpetual. They continued united under this treaty through the greater part of the war, and seven years after. Becoming then dissatisfied with this treaty, the States, acting as States, set aside 'The Articles of Confederation,' which were to have been perpetual, and made with each other another treaty called 'The Constitution of the United States,' more precise in terms and more stringent in conditions, which created, under the form of a federal government, a common agent for each and all the States for certain specified purposes. The States endowed this common agent with certain specified powers and with no others; for the powers not granted were expressly reserved to the individual States. A year or two elapsed after this treaty went into operation between most of the states, before all acceded to it.

The purposes to be served by this agent of all the states, and which they named 'The Government of the United States,' were essentially these: To secure the friendly union and intercourse between the states, and the people of the states; and to present them as one united body, in peace and in war, to all foreign powers.

The States however did not cease to be each a sovereign body politic within its own limits, in all matters not expressly delegated to the common agent. The forming of the Union did not generate an allegiance to a government or to a country. Each citizen of each State owed allegiance to his own State. On the formation of the Union, at first under the 'Articles of Confederation,' afterwards under the 'Constitution of the United States,' he, as well as his State, assumed a new obligation: that of observing in good faith the terms of the treaty of Union. Not even the officials of the new government ever took any oath of allegiance to it, as a government, or to the country within its jurisdiction. The only oath taken was, to observe faithfully the terms of the treaty of union between the States. As to the perpetuity of the Union, nothing is expressly said of it in the 'Constitution of the United States.' Doubtless it was meant to be as perpetual as the good faith in observing the conditions on which the States had entered into the Union, and no longer. To assume that the parties that made the compact of union on certain specified conditions, meant these conditions to be temporary, but the union based upon them perpetual—that gross and persistent violation of the terms of the agreement, by some parties to it, would not release the others from

their obligation—would be putting the most absurd and illogical construction on the contract.

The people of each State looked to their own State government for the protection of their personal, social, and proprietary rights. The laws of the State regulated all social relations, those of husband and wife, parent and child, master and servant, marriage, inheritance, guardianship; and all proprietary rights, as title to land, and to other property, contracts, and in general all those questions as to rights and wrongs, for the decision of which men appeal to courts of law and equity. The law of the State fixed the *status* of individuals in the state, such as the qualifications necessary before a man can exercise the franchise, as a voter, or hold office, or serve as a juror in the courts of the State.

Under the terms of the treaty of Union the States had delegated to their common agent, the Federal government, exclusive jurisdiction over certain matters; among which were: 'To define and punish piracies and felonies on the high seas,'—and 'Offences against the law of nations,'—Counterfeiting the securities and coin of the United States'—'And offences against the post office, &c. But, with these exceptions and a few others, it was to the government of their respective States that the people looked for the punishment of all those offences, whether against persons, property, or society, which governments find it necessary to punish. Omitting the offences specially excepted above, all crimes committed in a State were tried by the sovereign authority of the State, under its own laws, in its own courts, and before a jury of its citizens. If a man is

hanged for a capital crime, it is the State that hangs him. Should the case call for the exercise of the pardoning power, the governor of the State pardons him. But should the Governor refuse, and the President of the United States assume to grant him a pardon, the convict would be hanged even with such a pardon in his hand. It would be mere waste paper. The civil jurisdiction of the state courts was as broad as the criminal. It was not to relieve themselves of their jurisdiction as sovereign States that they contracted with each other for the creation, for certain specified purposes, of a common agent, now known as the 'Government of the United States.'

Such was the theory of that complex political organization consisting of the governments of the individual States, and of the States united with each other.

As we have already said, the individual States levied the very moderate revenues, needed for the support of their governments, chiefly by direct taxes. For instance the little state of South Carolina, with a population in 1850 of 668,500 of which 385,000 were negro slaves, for several years before and after that time expended annually less than $400,000 for the support of all the departments of its government; and this proved enough to secure the efficient administration of the law, and preserve good order in the state. We believe that this is but a fair sample of the economy observed in the expenditures of most of the states.

But their common agent, the government of the United States, had some costly duties to perform, for

instance; those of providing the means of defence against foreign enemies, and the temporary care and government of the large public territories outside of the borders of the States, until by the immigration and permanent settlements made, sufficient and suitable portions of this territory had become populous enough to support each a state government. In connection with the case of these wild territories, the Federal government was charged with dealing with the indian tribes; a nice and troublesome duty, and one which the agents of the government soon learned how to make very costly to the government, and very profitable to themselves.

To enable the Federal government to fulfil these and some other duties, power had been granted to it 'To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises,' and that without any limitation except that 'All duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.' Being thus furnished with the means of feeding itself, this child of the States grew and grew, and its appetite for power and appropriation grew with what it fed on, until it was able to eat up its parents; and it has already eaten up a good many of them—by converting them into conquered provinces.

The truth is that the 'Government of the United States' was the offspring of a stupid and shortsighted treaty between the several States. Being entrusted with the power of unlimited taxation it gradually, yet rapidly and naturally, tended towards the usurpation of powers not granted to it, to the overthrow of the essential rights of each State, and to a total change in the character and operative effects of government on the

confederation. This unexpected result tends to prove that governments are not pieces of mechanism, that can be ordered and obtained according to contract with specifications; but germinate, grow, and perish, like other productions of nature; and that some kinds of this natural production, called government, are more short-lived than others.

The power of levying taxes, and of appropriating the proceeds, is the power of governing. No other political right or combination of rights, can long resist it. The Federal government, in order to fulfil the duties for which it was created: namely, to raise and support armies; to provide and maintain a navy; to establish and maintain courts for the trial of cases arising out of matters placed within its jurisdiction, and for some other duties with which it was charged—this Federal government needed a revenue larger than the united revenues needed by all the individual States. From the first existence of this government it proceeded to raise its revenue chiefly by duties and imposts on imported foreign goods, an indirect mode of taxing people, at which they are the less apt to grumble, as no man sees how much he pays of this indirect tax. Having now occasion to employ a large number of persons in various official capacities, the new government is at once in possession of a large and wide-spread patronage, which the politicians in office know how to use, and to increase for their own purposes. This soon gave the Federal government an influence over self-seeking individuals, of every class, vastly greater than that of all the State governments; for their expenditures were small and economical,

and their patronage limited in proportion. The States were each practically under bond to use economy in raising and disbursing their revenues; for high taxes in any one State would have driven both population and capital across its borders into the neighbouring states.

A large region of country is seldom or perhaps never homogeneous. Climate, geographic features, and other causes had marked out certain differences between the Northern and the Southern States; and the distinction in character between them grew more manifest as years rolled on.

From the first planting of the colonies, the many convenient ports, the comparative barrenness of the soil, and abundance of timber in New England and the adjacent regions, directed the attention of the colonists there to shipbuilding, maritime affairs and the fisheries. They also carried on a large trade in peltry and lumber. While the people of the Northern colonies did not neglect to avail themselves of what fertile soil was at hand, they early acquired the habits and characteristics of a trading, seafaring, and, to some extent, of a manufacturing people.

But the climate and soil of the more Southern colonies being found to be peculiarly adapted to the production of agricultural staples in great demand in commerce, these colonies became almost altogether agricultural communities; and the nature of their exports led to their having far more intercourse with the mother country than with their Northern neighbours. The revolution, which changed them from colonies into States, did not change their interests and pursuits. But it revolu-

tionized their political connections. Their Northern confederates, seeing them in the enjoyment of great profits from the foreign demand for their peculiar products, set their wits to work to devise the means of diverting as much as possible of the proceeds of Southern crops to themselves in the North. Their ingenuity, perseverance, artful combinations, and utter want of scruple, made them successful in time, and for a long time.

Yet the Federal government conducted its affairs with considerable economy for some time, except perhaps during one short war. During the Presidency of John Quincy Adams, for instance (from 1825 to 1829) the yearly expenditure of the government little exceeded $13,000,000; vastly more indeed than that of all the state-governments, but a mere trifle compared with its own expenditure of late years.

Yet long before that date, the tendency to pervert taxation from its legitimate object, the raising of revenue for the support of the government, to the fraudulent aim of making profitable private pursuits in particular parts of the confederacy, was plainly manifest. Under the influence of the people of the Northern and less agricultural states, the Federal government early laid the foundation of what was afterwards called 'the tarif system for the protection of American industry' that is of their own occupations and enterprises in the North.

Some abuses in taxation and finance originated almost at the birth of the government. The people of New England have long shown great talents and no scruples in taking care of their own interests at other people's

cost; and the inhabitants of the New England coast, being much occupied in the fisheries of the North Atlantic, they had the art to persuade the Federal government that these fisheries were very important to the whole country, not merely in supplying it with salted fish, but as a nursery for seamen; without whom the confederation could never become a great naval power. The government was induced to give a bounty of so much per ton on all the vessels fitted out for the fisheries. For fifty years or so, every man in the United States was taxed to pay part of the price of his salted fish before it was caught, and whether he wanted it or not, in order to pay this bounty to the New England fishing craft, many of which were fitted out to catch, not so much the fish, as the bounty.

But this was not the usual mode in which the Federal government undertook to make profitable the occupations and enterprises of particular classes of the people, and of particular parts of the country, at the cost of others.

The industry of the Southern States was directed, perhaps beyond even the growing of the food needed at home, to the cultivation of certain crops which found their chief and best markets in foreign countries. The most profitable use to which the Southern agriculturist could apply his land, labour, and skill, was growing these crops in such demand abroad. In payment for these crops exported, a great amount of foreign goods came into the country; for the commodities sent out of the country must be paid for by those that are brought into it. They cannot be paid for in any other way.

Commerce is based upon the exchange of commodities; money is only the means of facilitating, and measuring the rate of that exchange, From these remarks may be estimated the interest the people of the South had in foreign trade. So far as foreign commodities came into the country to pay for southern crops, these commodities, or the proceeds of them when sold, belonged to southern men. The Southern farmer and the foreign manufacturer drove, through intermediate agents, a profitable trade with each other, in exchanging the proceeds of their industry and capital. What a man has honestly obtained he has a right to exchange with any other man for his honest acquisitions.

The productions of the Northern States were very far from being in equal demand abroad. But many people in the North bethought them that if they could shut out the rivalry of the foreign manufacturer they might build up a profitable business for themselves; that although nature might have given to particular countries greater facilities for the production of certain commodities, than it has given to their own, that advantage enjoyed by foreigners might be more than counter-balanced by obstructing the importation of their products. The government was raising nine-tenths of the revenue necessary for its support by duties on imported goods. Some enterprising Northern men had the art to induce it to go further, and to impose so high a duty on some particular articles, that it became cheaper to manufacture them at home, than to import them from abroad. The first articles so taxed were well chosen as the beginning of this system of government protection; for the

materials were produced in the country in abundance. A duty of 30 per cent. *ad valorem* was imposed on all imported hats and shoes, and soon none but Yankee made hats could be bought; but a good hat cost nine or ten dollars, and shoes and boots rose in proportion. The people of the Northern states soon found out that there were a number of other articles which they could make to great profit, if the government would only shut out the cheaper and better foreign articles, by laying a heavy duty on them. Thus the manufacture of silken goods has been forced into a sort of hot house existence in the United States, where no silk is produced, by laying a duty of 60 per cent on foreign silks. For the Northern States having a majority of votes in the Congress of the United States, and their people being nearly all of them eager to embark in some manufacturing speculation, well protected by high duties against foreign competition, it gradually came to pass that there were few articles that could be made in the country at any cost but that a high impost was laid on the similar foreign articles, which would have undersold them in the same market.

The object of this system of imposts was to compel the agriculturists, and more especially those in the South, to buy from Northern manufacturers, by discouraging, and even preventing the importation of foreign goods. And it was in a great measure successful, but is no longer profitable. It built up a vast manufacturing interest in the North, not one-fourth of which would have come into existence in the face of foreign competition, and which now even protection fails to make prosperous. It

drained the South of its wealth in two ways: It compelled the Southern man to pay far more for every manufactured article than the natural price in the cheaper and better market; and it lowered the price of Southern produce by impairing the foreigner's means of paying for it. It can be shown that when the duties on foreign goods were raised, the price of Southern produce fell, and that when these duties were lowered the price of Southern produce rose. The Southern man was placed in this dilemma: If he supplied his wants by buying foreign goods, the price was raised by an exorbitant duty paid to the government. If he bought Northern goods he paid an exorbitant price to the manufacturer. The government by its fiscal legislation aimed at compelling the South to purchase the products of the North at a high price, and to sell to the North the products of its industry at a low price. It made the South tributary to the North.

Nothing could exceed Yankee greediness to appropriate the proceeds of the industry of other people. But for that clause in the constitution declaring that "No tax or duty shall be laid on acticles exported from any State" the manufacturers would have procured a duty to be laid on all raw cotton exported, in order that the crop of the South should not be sold to foreigners until it had gone through the processes of manufacture in the Northern cotton factories.

Has the reader ever considered what is the origin and true nature of that offence which is called smuggling? Stealing, and robbery, and the destruction of your neighbour's property, and a multitude of other acts, are

crimes in their very nature, and were criminal before any human law undertook to punish them.

But there is in nature no such offence as smuggling. An important ingredient in your natural liberty is the right to carry the proceeds of your industry, or any part of your portable property, to the best market you can find for it; and, when you have exchanged it for other commodities, you have naturally an equal right to carry your new acquisitions home with you. They are as much yours as that was, which you gave for them. These are the natural and justifiable acts out of which governments have manufactured the offence of smuggling. They create the crime by legislation; they provide for its punishment by further legislation.

The United States affords a striking example of these abuses. The people of the Northern States, having a majority of the votes in Congress, they had, when united among themselves, the control of the government, and sought to use it to their exclusive profit. In raising a revenue for the government, they, by the ingenious arrangements of their tariff acts, threw the burden of taxation on the South. In expending that revenue they bestowed a benefit on the North. They lowered the value of Southern produce by impairing the foreigner's means of paying for it; and they raised the price of Northern manufactures by shutting out the competition of foreign goods. They used the whole machinery of government as if it had been designed for impoverishing the South and enriching the North.

This method of plundering the South met with earnest protest and strenuous opposition from that quarter;

and the tariffs for revenue and protection underwent many fluctuations. The fact is, that there is an essential incompatibility between the two objects of revenue and protection. Just so far as a duty protects home manufactures, it fails to yield any revenue; for it keeps out foreign goods; and just so far as a duty yields a revenue from foreign goods imported, it fails to afford protection to the home manufacturer. There were many people at the North, to whom the raising of a large revenue by the government was of vital interest, for they profited by its expenditures. They were opposed to duties so high as to cut off revenue from the government, while affording protection to the manufacturer, by shutting out the goods of his foreign competitor. The representatives of the Southern States, by combining with this class of plunderers, were more than once enabled to foil the measures of that worse class of plunderers, who advocated protective duties so high as to shut out foreign goods.

On one occasion, about 1840, the government raised so much more revenue by its tariff than it could find immediate use for, that it distributed several millions among the States, in order to get rid of it—thus bribing them with their own money. They never repeated this error, but invented new ways of expending any surplus. The natural remedy, in this anomalous case, would have been to reduce the taxes; for it proved that more money had been taken from the people, or from some of them, than was necessary for support of the government. But this did not suit the Northern majority who governed the country and plundered the South. To them taxation

was a blessing. The greater the revenue raised, the more was spent among themselves; for they took good care that as little as possible of government money should be expended in the South. The North measured the value of the Union by the amount of tribute it could draw from the South, in revenue paid to the government, and in the profits of the Northern manufacturers while protected from foreign competition. The South was learning to doubt the value of a Union, that subjected it to such a continual drain on the proceeds of their property and industry, merely in order to fill the pockets of their confederates. In 1859 the revenue of the United States exceeded $80,000,000, nineteen twentieths of which was raised by duties on foreign goods; and far the greater part of this, through the peculiar arrangements of the tariff, was paid by the South; which also paid much more than $80,000,000 in excess of the natural price, on the goods bought from Northern manufacturers, who were protected from foreign rivalry. Northern industry and enterprise were made profitable by draining off the profits of the industry and enterprise of the South.

The North throve. Of $80,000,000 of yearly government revenue raised chiefly on the South, four fifths was expended in the North. Of more than $80,000,000 perhaps double that amount, of artificially contrived yearly profits to protected Northern manufacturers, the whole was expended in the North. From the cheapened price of Southern produce, artificially lowered by the protective tariff which obstructed foreign trade, a saving of $60,000,000, perhaps $80,000,000, accrued to the North.

An unknown amount, certainly $2,000,000,000, borrowed in Europe, to be invested in American rail-roads, canals, manufacturing and mining corporations, city improvements, and a thousand other enterprises, flowed in a few years into the country, and almost exclusively into the Northern States. What country will not thrive, or seem to thrive, as long as several hundred millions of dollars more than its people earn, are annually poured into its lap? More especially if it can, after a time, stop paying even the interest of a great part of its borrowings?

The object of the 'American System for the protection of industry' was simply to make the people of the Southern States, as far as possible, the tax payers, those of the Northern States the receivers and enjoyers of the proceeds of taxation. This system of taxation was introduced early and gradually, under many cunning pleas and devices, at a time when the true principles of political economy were little understood even by the best informed men of the country. But it was firmly established and openly avowed as soon as the people of the Northern States, by their numerical superiority, had acquired the control of the government created by the States for the maintenance of the rights of all the States on a footing of perfect equality. For forty years previous to the war of Secession the aim and the effect of the policy of this common federal government, under the control of the North majority, was to convert the Southern States into tributary provinces.

Of course this policy was bitterly denounced and strenuously opposed by the representatives in Congress from the South, and by the governments of most of the

Southern States. Persistence in it seemed at times to threaten the continuance of the Union. But when the indignation in the South rose to a dangerous point, the politicians of the North combining with some from the South, had the art to make some temporary compromise, such as a reduction and modification of the tariff, which allayed the excitement.

The truth is that indirect taxation and its effects are such hidden and insidious things, that they are not readily traced at a glance. It is impossible to make the great body of the people of any country see and understand the ultimate effects of any chain of causes made up of many links. You can swindle and plunder them to any extent, so that you do it indirectly, adroitly, and under plausible excuses. Only the most intelligent classes of the people in the South could be made to understand fully, how thoroughly and to what extent they were robbed by their sworn confederates.

CHAPTER IV.

The Negro Question.

There was however another matter than taxation, tariffs, and the protection of industry, in meddling with which these Northern members of the Federal Union could not conceal their hostility to the South, and their utter want of faith in dealing with the treaty which bound the States to each other. And this leads us to a topic which might fill many pages.

A shallow philosophy prevailed in the last century, and is not quite exploded in this, which taught that civilization and barbarism, culture and ignorance, made all the difference between peoples; that the characteristics distinguishing different families, tribes, nations, and races of men originated solely in the conditions under which they had lived. They may have so originated; but in times so remote, and under the influence of causes so powerful, and operating so long, that the effects have moulded the physical and mental constitutions of different races; and to us these differences are, practically, permanent.

He who travels over the earth will find very different races of men distributed over its surface; and he who travels over the records of the past will find that very different characteristics and careers have distinguished these races from each other. Some have carried their

social and political organization, and their intellectual attainments to very high points, yet always with some marked shades of difference from those who rivalled them. Others have attained only to a lower grade of cultivation. Many races have never originated a civilization of their own, and with difficulty received and retained that communicated to, or forced upon them by others. Some have rapidly perished before the civilization thrust upon them. The natives of some of the islands in the Pacific ocean, and particularly the Maoris of New Zealand seem to be of this class. The North American indian, unless you include the Mexican, is not likely to survive as an unmixed race. And there are indications in history that mixed races do not prosper, and in some cases are apt to die out.

In short the ascertained facts in the history of mankind indicate, not that *Institutions* originate races, but that *Races* originate institutions.

We know nothing of the origin or causes of these differences of race; although many persons have laboured to trace them out. Some naturalists have gone so far in their speculations as to trace the origin of one class of beings of the highest organization to their development from others of inferior types. We do not object to their amusing themselves and other people with these inquiries. But we must deal with facts better established, and generally admitted to be true.

We believe that authentic history affords no proofs that any human race or tribe, while continuing to occupy the same country, ever changed those physical and mental characteristics which distinguished them from

other races, except so far as they changed their races by mingling their blood with that of strangers to it. Nor is there distinct evidence of such changes occurring even when such a race or tribe changed its country. From change of condition they may deteriorate, improve, or die out; but we have no proof that the characteristic marks, indicating the race from which they sprung, will not cling to them to the last. We have the instance of one race, at least, the Jews, and probably another, the gipsies, to substantiate this supposition; for both have kept themselves pretty much apart from mixture with other races; and we have no instance of an unmixed race to prove to the contrary.

If we could bring back to life a dozen Anglo-Saxon boys seven years of age, drowned or otherwise cut off in health in the days of King Alfred; could we further send them to a school in the most Anglo-Saxon county in England; if at the end of seven years or any longer period Messrs. Darwin, Huxley, and Tyndall were sent to examine them in mind and body, we have no grounds for supposing that this choice committee could distinguish them among their companions, through any marks of change in the race during the thousand years which separate the births of King Alfred's boys from the others.

Geological research affords proof of the existence of different human races many thousand years ago. It affords proof that some human races have, in particular regions, been supplanted by others. But it affords no indication that one race has been changed into another. The supplanted race was partly extirpated, partly driven out of that region, but it was neither a changed

nor a lost type of humanity, for we find its representatives living elsewhere at this day; and, on further research, that higher type of man, into which the supplanted race was supposed to have been improved, is now proved to have been in existence thousands of years before the supplanting of the other race. The geologist of the far future, when the North American tribes shall have utterly died out, on finding the skeleton of the red man in one *stratum*, and that of the white man in another *stratum* overlying the former, will not make the blunder of inferring that the red race had been developed into the Teuton or the Celt.

A multitude of facts well known to us show that the marks which distinguish human races are very durable; and no facts known to us indicate that they may not be, in historical experience, permanent. It is particularly difficult to exclude, in such inquiries, the effects of mixture of blood; but some facts indicate that the offspring from two very different races of men tend strongly to die out, from moral as well as physical causes.

It would seem to us, were we to hazard an opinion on the matter, that it would be better that each country should be occupied by people of one race, to the exclusion of others, and that this race should be the one best suited to the climate. Wherever a country is peopled by one of the higher races, we would suppose it highly injurious, and ultimately deteriorating to them, to introduce an inferior race among them. But the existence of different races in the same country occurs so often, that this would almost seem to be the order of nature. After

these preliminary remarks we will enter more closely on the subject on hand.

'The paradise of vegetation, a rich soil with a hot climate, is the grave of human life.' It is certainly so to the Caucasian race. Whenever detachments of this race have penetrated into tropical, or even sub-tropical regions, as they often do, they have found themselves in climates unfavourable to their health, and to the full exercise of their native energies. Nowhere in the old or new world, nearer to the Equator than latitude 35, can any considerable population of the Caucasian race be found, which can undergo field work and other out of door labours, equal to those of the peasantry in England, France, and Germany. Under such habitual exertions and exposure they would die out in a generation or two. If there are any exceptions to this, which we doubt, they will be found in mountain regions, where high elevation counteracts low latitude, and on a poor soil, yielding little produce, and no malaria from summer heats. But the Caucasian, venturing into or near the tropics, has generally found himself surrounded by a population of a different race from himself, with a physical constitution far better adapted to the climate in which the two races now meet. Yet under this disadvantage, he has seldom failed so to use his superiority in intellect, knowledge, and warlike qualities, as not to avail himself of the hardihood and industry of the inferior races around him, establishing in his new country a polity, of which he made himself the head. If the subordinate population was of a race given to provident industry, they became subjects merely; but if constitutionally given to listless

and improvident indolence, he made them his slaves, and supplied their want of provident and energetic will from his own stock of both of these qualities.

The Spaniards, a branch of this Caucasian stock, were the earliest European colonists in America. They, too, were the most rapid conquerors there. The gold they found in the hands of the natives of San Domingo and Mexico excited their cupidity to the highest pitch. Their greed after the precious metals soon exhausted the supply which could be wrested from the conquered people. Then mining for that yet in the bowels of the earth became the most engrossing pursuit of the colonists. This demanded irksome and exhausting labour, fatal to the whites in this climate; and that labour was exacted from the natives, many of whom the conquerors made their slaves.

The effects of this change in their condition was soon seen in the island of San Domingo. The natives there were a delicate people, and Las Casas, the noted Spanish priest, was shocked on witnessing their sufferings. He saw that they were dying-out under the toils and privations imposed upon them by their conquerors who, turning miners and gold hunters, became the hardest of task-masters. In fact no representative of this conquered people has been living within two centuries. Las Casas, a man of rank and influence, returning to Spain, made strenuous efforts at court for the relief of the indians from the slavery and toils which were exterminating the race. The better to effect this, he urged that negroes should be sent out to relieve the indians from the labours so fatal to them. Other priests in New Spain urged the

same measure. But Las Casas is said to have regretted, later in life, the part he took in this matter.

Modern philanthropists ridicule as well as denounce the blundering zeal of Las Casas in the cause of humanity. It could devise no better mode of relieving one oppressed race than the transfer of their burden to the shoulders of another. But the views and conduct of this Spanish priest were not quite so absurd as they imagine them to be. He looked upon it not so much as an enslaving of the negro, as a changing of his master. He may well have learned from the Portuguese settlements on the coast of Africa, that the greater part of the negroes were, perhaps always had been, slaves to men of their own colour. He certainly knew that many of them were slaves among the Moors on the coast just opposite to Spain. He even had opportunities of making himself familiar with negroes and negro slavery in the South of Spain and Portugal. Both the race and their condition were open to observation. He saw the negro usually cheerful, often noisily so, seemingly content in servitude if not unusually harsh and exacting; readily admitting the white man's superiority, and by no means broken down by the condition in which he and most of his race were born, lived, and died; and Las Casas may naturally have contrasted the different effects of servitude on the negro and on the indian of San Domingo. But he lived long enough to see that the labour of the negro would fail to preserve the indian race.

The Spaniards introduced negro slaves into all their American colonies, in which they could make them useful. The Portuguese followed, if indeed they had not

set this example in Brazil and elsewhere. A century or so later the English had founded colonies in America, and entered zealously into the African slave trade under the special license and patronage of the government. Negro slaves were brought into and held in all the English colonies on the Atlantic coast, and this continued long after these colonies became states.

The African slave trade became a source of so much profit to the English merchants and ship-owners, that when some of the colonies wished to limit it, on account of the supposed danger in introducing such a crowd of savages into new settlements, with another and hostile race of savages close on their borders, the government in England overruled the objections of the colonial authorities, and kept the ports freely open to the importation. This trade was a source of great profit to some English cities, as Bristol and others. The commercial growth of Liverpool, we have heard, originated with it; and Glascow shared in its gains.

But it was nowhere more zealously, profitably and longer followed up than by the merchants and ship-owners of the New England ports. Even puritan divines in New England, among them the famous Jonathan Edwards, are said to have embarked their money in this trade. And when at length in accordance with an article, agreed upon by the States, and inserted in the Constitution of the United States, the ports were about to be closed to the African slave trade in 1808, a great temporary impulse was given to the importation of negroes. Virginia had already closed her ports to this trade. We can only quote the following pub-

lished statement from memory. Charleston, South Carolina, being the most convenient port through which could be supplied the great demand for negroes in the newly settled territories in the South-west; out of more than two hundred slave-ships that entered that port in 1806-7, far the greater number, probably three-fourths, hailed from Newport, Boston, Salem, and other New England towns.

Negro slaves imported from Africa, and their offspring born in America, continued to be sold, bought and held in almost every State that had been one of those colonies. But climate and the physical constitution of the negro were yet to settle his destination and *habitat*, when thus transferred from Africa to another continent.

The Spaniards in their greedy search after gold tried and failed to make useful slaves of the natives of San Domingo. The Puritans of New England, besides importing negroes from Africa, added to their chattels by kidnapping young indians, and making slaves of them. But they found them not easily trained to labour, and hard to keep, being much given to running away. We have seen somewhere this doggerel dating, it is likely, from those times:—

> John Brown had two little indian boys.
> One ran away, and the other would not stay,
> So John Brown lost his little indian boys.

But these speculations in young indians usually ended more successfully in their being shipped to the West Indies, to be made useful slaves of there, if that could be done.

There are marked differences of character, and points

of contrast between the North American indian and the negro race. The indian, grave, somewhat silent, undemonstrative in manner, and reserved in temper, shuns promiscuous intercourse, is prone to a wild and free life; he does not readily acknowledge another's superiority, and pined and died out when reduced to servitude.

The noisy, chattering negro loves the excitement of a crowd, is readily domesticated, if not easily civilized, and thrives and multiplies in subordination to other and higher races.

The history of the negro in and out of Africa leads to these conclusions:—There never has originated among an unmixed negro population any condition of society that approximated to civilization.

When civilization has been introduced among them, it is purely imitative, and they have not been able to retain it when left to themselves.

Although the negro race have shown a strong tendency to gather around centres of population, there never has existed a negro polity that rose above the organization of a barbarous tribe.

No example can be found of a community of free negroes exercising the ordinary providence and industry common to most other races.

In the communities in Central Africa, which have progressed so far as to maintain themselves by tilling the soil, society is organized on the basis of master and slave.

The negroes owe their possession of a large part of middle and western Africa solely to the climate, which

is generally and speedily fatal to people of most other races.

However much the negro may be changed and improved in the course of some generations by being transferred to another climate and a civilized community, he remains as obviously a negro in mind and body as his ancestors were.

Free negroes living remote from the tropics die out in a few gen rations. Negro slaves similarly situated did not die out so fast.

To these remarks we will add that wherever the climate is such that the white man can perform all necessary out-of-door labours without sacrificing his health, the negro rapidly and completely loses his value as a labourer, as the country fills up with a new and industrious population of a superior race. The value of the negro's labour, which it needs close superintendence to get, falls from day to day, until it will not pay for his maintenance. This was the result that put an end to negro slavery in the Northern States. Yankee traders and ship owners were as busy as ever buying slaves on the coast of Africa, and selling them in Southern and West Indian ports. But there was another branch of the same trade. Negro slaves being found to be a source of little profit in the North, the younger and more saleable of those born and bred there were gradually sent off to the South. It was not until they had gotten rid of most of the marketable part of this peculiar merchandise, that the people of the Northern States, one after another, abolished slavery. Then they washed their hands and purged their consciences of all participation

in what they now called an outrage against the inalienable rights of man.

But in the States lying further South the descendants of the British colonists who had settled there found themselves in a very different position from their Northern confederates.

Their country was sub-tropical, and, except in and near the mountains, wherever the soil was fertile, the summer heat engendered malaria, noxious to the health, often fatal to the lives of the whites, especially when fatigued with labour, exhausted by fasting, or exposed to the dews of night. The more fertile the soil, the more fatal the climate to the white man; while the negro seemed to defy its evil influences, labouring, thriving, and multiplying in localities, where the whites, without care in avoiding exposure, and in the choice of the place where they slept, ran great risk of dying out. Even in the more barren and therefore healthier parts of the country, white labourers in the field, under the oppression of the long and hot summers, cannot work with half the energy and persistence of the labourer in Western Europe.

Thus the States that form the Federal Union were divided by geographical position, climate, and pursuits, into two distinct groups, differing in character from each other. Moreover there had been from the first settling of the country some marked differences in the character of the colonies. New England had been settled chiefly by malcontents against the English government and the Church of England. The same might be said of some other colonies; but both the English

government and church had many zealous adherents among the colonists in Virginia and those south of it. But latterly the most obvious distinction between the South and the North was the presence in the former of a large, orderly, and fast multiplying population of negro slaves, contrasted with a sparce and rapidly decreasing remnant of emancipated negroes in the latter. Few as these free negroes were, they proved to be a great nuisance, furnishing a monstrous proportion of the inmates of the gaols, poorhouses, hospitals, and lunatic asylums, in the Northern States. The census, with the reports on crime, pauperism, disease, and insanity, exhibit these facts in the clearest light.

Another element was rapidly flowing into the country to widen the difference between the Northern and Southern States. The climate of the former, although one of extremes, is one in which the white man can labour to some advantage, although not as well as in that of the British Islands. Western Europe was overflowing with discontented labourers, and malcontents who were not labourers; and multitudes came to America. A large proportion of these new-comers to the land of liberty, where many of them thought themselves at liberty to do whatever seemed good in their own eyes, were of very undesirable characters. They came with their heads stuffed full of false notions on political, economical, social, and moral questions of every kind, among which was prominent a great contempt for vested rights.

The government received this crowd of emigrants with open arms. They all, without distinction, at the end of a few years, might become citizens and voters, without

paying one penny of tax, and take a part in the ruling of a country, of the history, government, laws, and institutions of which most of them knew nothing, and never could know, from utter ignorance and incapacity to learn.

But the people of the Northern States had powerful motives for encouraging this immigration. Every man who held land, or had any capital vested in some money-seeking speculation, felt that this influx of labour and mechanical skill was adding to his own wealth, and his hopes of vastly increasing it. Moreover, every addition to the population of the Northern States, by swelling the number of their representatives in the Congress of the United States, added to their control over the Federal government. This was the great object on which the people of the Northern States had set their hearts. They gained not only power but money by it.

At the first formation of the Federal Union, not only were the Northern States more in number than the Southern, but the people were more numerous. And, rapid as was the increase of population in the South, it was more rapid in the North, being continually swollen by the influx of emigrants from Europe, rivalling in numbers the migrating hordes that overran provinces of the Roman empire. We have few means of reference at hand, but in some years, as in 1854, this immigration amounted to nearly half a million.

At the same time the prosperity of the North was stimulated by the influx of a vast amount of capital borrowed in England and elsewhere. Is it destined to be repaid? *Caveat creditor.* Both labour and capital

sought in the New World the latitudes, climate, and investments, most similar to those of the country from which it had come. Of the foreigners living in the United States in 1850, two millions were in the North, and not one quarter of a million in the South. The tide of emigration had not yet reached its height, and this disproportion afterwards increased. The North thus acquired an almost unlimited command of capital and labour, including in the latter skilled mechanics and men of high scientific attainments. All its great works of internal improvements are chiefly the result of borrowed foreign capital, Irish and German labour, and mechanical skill from England, Scotland, and the North of Europe.

This was the prosperous condition of the Northern States in 1860. What was then the condition of the Southern States ?

Before we enter into that inquiry we will observe that there never was any great cordiality between the two parts of the Union. But the road to prosperity which lay open before them, kept them too profitably busy to afford time for deadly quarrels between them ; and they occasionally experienced pressure enough, from foreign enemies, to keep them together.

CHAPTER V.

The Southern States.

It is impossible to explain the present condition of the United States, without giving a sketch of the progress of the Southern States down to 1860.

If we were to represent them as pictured at and for some time previous to that date, by very many of the Northern people, and by the leading journals published in the Northern cities, from which journals the world at large chiefly derived its notions of the slave-holding states of the Union, the whole South would seem to have been one pandemonium. Never were any people so elaborately vituperated and denounced as they were by an annually swelling crowd of their Northern confederates. It is true that there were at the North numbers who set their faces against this hostility in words and in acts against the people of the Southern States. But being gradually over-ridden by popular clamour and violence, they lost influence day by day, and finally shrunk into a small minority who were, and still are, compelled to keep their convictions to themselves. During the war that followed, free speech, censuring the course of the government, was answered by mob-law, or by locking up the speaker in Fort LaFayette, or some other Bastile.

For years the mildest expression of Northern opinion had taught that the people of the Southern States were indolent, unenterprising, and averse to steady labour of

any kind; the only energy they showed was in driving their slaves. The self-sufficient New Englander had long harped upon this theme, while offering himself as an example for imitation in the opposite qualities. According to him the North under New England's guidance and inspiration, had done everything, and the South nothing, to develop the resources of the country. He laid it down as an infallible dogma, that negro slavery in the South had deteriorated the character and habits of the people, was an obstacle to the progress of population and civilization, and the improvement of the country; that all slave labour was unskillful, slovenly, and superficial, obstructing the use of machinery and improved methods of culture, and making labour discreditable in the white man. It stamped incompleteness and inefficiency on all that was done or attempted. The New Englander had preached this doctrine so confidently and zealously as not only to convince himself, but some people even in the South almost began to believe it. Yet the true history of the Southern States flatly contradicted these assertions.

A little more than two centuries before 1860, the whole territory of the Southern States, except the neighborhood of Jamestown in Virginia, of the Spanish forts of St Augustine and Pensacola, and two French posts on the Mississippi, was a wilderness, the hunting ground of the red man. Another century wrought but very partial changes in this vast region, although several European colonies were then flourishing on the coast.

What progress had the South made in the next

hundred years? And how far can the people of the South claim that progress as their own work?

More than a century ago the tide of European immigration into North America had been much diverted from the Southern States. The climate deterred labouring men from going thither; and the few Europeans and Northern men who settled there seldom brought families with them. A great majority of the people of the South sprang from ancestors who had settled in some of the Southern colonies several generations back.

As to the oft asserted deterioration of the white population of the Southern States, and that this deterioration was partially counter-acted by the influx of newcomers from Europe and the North, a multitude of statistical and historical facts utterly disprove these assertions. We will briefly refer to the statistics:—

It appears from the U. S. census of 1850, that nearly nine-tenths of the foreign born population in the country were found in the Northern States, and little more than one-tenth in the Southern States.

It appears from the same census, that while only one hundred and ninety five thousand (195,000) persons, born in the Northern States, were living in the South—four hundred and eighty five thousand (485,000) natives of the Southern States were then living in the North. Eighty five thousand Virginians were found in Ohio alone. Fifty-one thousand in Indiana. Sixty-eight thousand Kentuckians in Indiana. Fifty-nine thousand in Illinois. Fifty-eight thousand North Carolinians in Ohio. Thirty thousand in Indiana. Thirty-two thousand Tennesseans in Illinois—&c. We need not lengthen

out this statement. The Southerners who had settled in the North were twice and a half more numerous than the Northern men who had settled in the South.

Is it to be supposed that these Southern men would have gone and settled themselves in the Northern states, if, from inferiority in ability and industry, they found themselves less capable of making a living and pushing their fortunes than the people they went among? Far the greater part of these emigrants from the South were labouring farmers, and their object was to find a climate in which field work and out of door labour is not so injurious to the white man as in that which they had left behind them. It is proved, by successive returns of the census—that the white population of the Southern States was multiplying rapidly, although the emigration much exceeded the immigration both from Europe and the Northern States.

As to the asserted deterioration of the people of the Southern States, notorious historical facts prove its falsehood. Although the whites in the South were much fewer that those in the North, in fact not half as numerous, yet the people of the United States selected most of their Presidents from the South—down to 1860. The Chief Justices of the Suprome Court of the United States, with, we believe, only one exception, were born and died in slave-holding states. The two men pre-eminently distinguished in the annals of Congress by their parliamentary abilities, were Henry Clay, a leader who seemed to take possession of men's hearts and heads—and John C. Calhoun, the logical statesman, who best expounded the principle and duties of the government—

both were born in, and represented slave holding states. So with the soldiers who have a name in history—Washington and Lee, Stonewall Jackson, and Joseph E. Johnston, whose campaigns were master pieces of Fabian strategy. To these we may add the names of that coarse, strong willed man, Andrew Jackson, who ruled all that came in contact with him, and General Scott, and Z. Taylor, so successful in the war against Mexico, All these were born and bred in the South. No equivalent to this array of worthies sprang from the Northern States.

But some Yankee panegyrist may say that General Grant's services alone far surpass the achievements of all the soldiers we have named. And this tempts us to say a few words in explanation of General Grant's military career.

We know little of the earlier part of that career. He was educated at West Point, and held a commission in the army for several years, but had to leave it for causes, of which intemperance was the chief. He was afterwards engaged in some manufacturing or commercial enterprises, but failed in them. 1860 found him a broken man, of dissipated habits and desperate fortunes. But he was known to be a man of great resolution. It has been said that he offered his services to the Confederates; but this may be false. The same thing has been asserted as to another noted Northern General of better character than Grant. He was, we believe, first employed by the U. S. government in crushing a movement of the secessionists near St. Louis in Missouri, where they were greatly in the minority—and afterwards attracted atten-

tion by his success in subordinate positions. But his good fortune sprang from a peculiar conjunction of events. The Northern government and people began their efforts to put down the 'rebellion' as they called it, with inadequate forces. Every time they made a failure, they changed their general, and greatly increased their levies. Luckily for Grant it was not until a number of commanders in chief had been shelved—and the insufficient strength of successive armies had been acknowledged, that the government put forth all its remaining strength and credit, raised an army of a million of men, more than half of whom were foreigners—and put Grant in command. He certainly succeeded at last in performing the task entrusted to him. But we do not just now remember, in all history, any successful general who had so many of his men slaughtered by an enemy greatly inferior in numbers. But he had been furnished with plenty of men and plenty of ammunition, and seems to have valued the one about as much as the other. We are not well informed as to the details of his campaigns. But we know of no one instance in which he displayed stategetic ability of a high order—and would be surprised if any military critic could point it out. Wielding an overwhelming force against enemies very inferior in numbers, he showed the most dogged resolution, and disregard for the lives of his men; and failure at one point only stimulated him to try his luck at another. This explains his more than semi-circular campaign around Richmond in 1864—5. One feature in General Grant's success has been little commented on, for the steps that led to it are wrapped in obscurity. It is known that he

went into the war desperately poor, but seems to have come out very rich. But the process has never been explained by which he acquired his wealth.

We do not mean to attribute any unusual purity of morals, or elevation of sentiment, to the average Southern man. He had little claim to it. But there was something in the political and social organization of the Southern States, especially the older States, that enabled men who were not mere cunning and unscrupulous politicians, but men of high character and social position, to take prominent places in public life. It was evident that the leading men of the South long exercised a wholesome, elevating, and conservative influence, both politically and socially, over the whole Union. The acknowledgement of this was not unusual in the North, and sometimes came from very curious quarters.

No man made himself more conspicuous by incessant and unmeasured abuse of the South than Horace Greeley, the editor of the New York Tribune. It was meat, and drink to him, literally and metaphorically. It supported his paper, and that supported him. One of his bitterest complaints against the South, and many others echoed it, was that Southern men dominated both socially and politically over their Northern associates. The same admission was freely and fully made by Elihu Burrett, 'the learned blacksmith,' a widely known New England author, a man of greater attainments than Greeley, but like him, of no large mental calibre.

The truth was that in the South, constituencies of white men, with a negro population politically beneath them, were less influenced by the motives and impulses,

which, in elections, control the mob of voters in the Northern States. And, whatever may have been the objects which led a Southern man into public life, politics was seldom adopted as a profession, or trade, by which he hoped to make his fortune. Pecuniary embarrassment was there the usual result of political ambition. What perhaps most influenced the selection and formed the characters of the public men of the South was the position they long occupied as the defenders of law, vested rights, and constitutional limitations, and as the opposers of extravagance and corruption in government, and of the attacks of a radical and usurping democracy.

Having said so much of the whites, the real people of the South, we will now speak of the negroes there. Far the greater part of the negroes were the descendants of Africans brought into the country before the revolution of 1776. It was not late in the history of the Southern colonies when the slave population increased more by births than by importation.

In this respect the English continental colonies differed from the colonies in the West Indies, whether English, French, or Spanish. In these latter, for reasons unknown to us, possibly from the cost of maintaining the families of the negroes, only adult male slaves were much in demand. Cargoes of Africans consisted chiefly of men, as those of Coolies at the present day. But, among the negroes brought into the English continental colonies, there were almost as many women as men. Indeed, we have been told that it was not uncommon for the slaver, after selling off most of the adult males

in the West Indies, to bring the remainder left on his hands, chiefly women and children, to some port on the continent. Thus the negroes, on a plantation or estate in the West Indies, resembled a regiment in this respect, that the ranks were kept full by the introduction of recruits. But the importation of negroes into the continental colonies was like bringing in a body of peasantry for the permanent settlement of the country. The result was that, although far fewer Africans were brought to the English part of the continent than to any one of the larger West Indian islands, yet their descendants are twice as numerous as all the negroes in the West Indies.

We have access to very few sources of early statistics, and the census of the United States dates only from 1790. But it appears from the census that the rate of increase of the negroes was little higher during the last eighteen years of the slave trade, than after the ports were closed against it. From this we infer that no great number of Africans were brought into the country between 1790 and 1808, when the trade ceased. It is probable that the whole number of Africans brought to the English part of the continent from the opening of the slave trade to the close of it, fell short of three hundred thousand; yet their offspring in 1860, were more than four million four hundred thousand.

We would not infer from the mere increase of population, the absolute well being of a people. A well known modern instance would contradict that assumption. But this rapid increase of the negroes in the Southern States is a remarkable fact, and indicates very

strongly that their condition was not unadapted to their nature. It clearly proves that the oft-pictured cruelties of the masters and sufferings of the slaves, even when founded on truth, must have represented exceptional cases.

After 1808 no Africans were introduced into the country. According to the census of 1810 the number of slaves in the United States was one million, one hundred and ninety-one thousand (1,191,000). Fifty years later, in 1860, they had increased to three million nine hundred and fifty-three thousand (3,953,000). If we deduct the immigrants that annually swelled the white population, it will be found the negro slaves multiplied about as fast as the whites, fully 27 or 28 per cent. every ten years; while, as is well known, the free negroes declined in numbers, especially at the North, although kept up by additions from the slave population, either as fugitives or set free by their masters.

It is a very significant fact that according to the census of 1870, the whole number of coloured people in the United States fell short, by half a million, of the number they should have reached, had the negroes continued to increase from 1860 to 1870 at the lowest rate recorded in any previous period of ten years.—Did the negroes continue to multiply, as usual, from 1860 until their emancipation in 1865, and then their increase abruptly cease? That supposition would exactly explain the returns to the census of 1870. Perhaps it is too soon to draw certain inferences as to the increase or decrease of the negro population. But from some facts known to us, among which are the great infant mortality, and the disregard of family ties, we are convinced

that the negroes are now rapidly decreasing in numbers in the South.

In 1810 the Southern States, besides supplying all the wants of their people in the shape of food, produced for exportation crops to the value of thirty-two millions of dollars. Fifty years later, in 1860, still supplying all the food their people needed, they produced for exportation crops to the value of three hundred and thirty millions of dollars; and that under a tariff and fiscal policy which designedly and successfully beat down the price of their produce. If we omit the border Southern States, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, which furnished very little of this produce for exportation, this was the surplus crop of the Southern States, with a population of three million two hundred thousand (3,200,000) whites, and three million six hundred thousand (3,600,000) negroes, after agricultural labour had supplied the necessaries of life to their people. The cotton crop made up nearly three-fourths of this amount in value.

We believe agricultural history affords no instance of so rapid an increase in the amount of any crop, as that of the cotton crop in the Southern States. They seemed destined to clothe the world, and to do it cheaply. The production was increasing at the rate of sixty or seventy per cent. every ten years; far faster than either the white or the negro population. If nothing had interrupted the progress of this culture, by this time (1878) the cotton crop of the Southern States would have risen to eleven or twelve millions of bales, equal, at the moderate price of twelve cents per pound to five hundred and fifty or six hundred millions of dollars.

Much fault has been found with the slovenly farming of the South, owing to the employment of slave labour. The truth is that abundance of land and scarcity of labour causes rough but broad cultivation ; while abundance of labour and scarcity of land leads to neat and thorough tillage. In the South much of that limited breadth of land, peculiar in soil and situation, adapting it to the production of the sugar-cane, or rice, or the long-stapled sea-island cotton, exhibited neat, skilful and thorough culture, by slave labour.

The civilization, systematic industry, and controlling intelligence of the white race, directing and aided by the ability to labour and the constitutional peculiarities of the negro, in a country and climate so capable of valuable productions, had made the Southern States rich, civilized, and prosperous communities ; whose annually increasing produce took the lead in the commerce of the world, and sustained in peace and plenty two distinct populations, each of which already numbered several millions, and were multiplying with great rapidity. We suppose that it is intended that the improvable portions of the earth's surface should be brought under cultivation by man; and we do not know any other combination of human capabilities and relations, which could have raised these regions, so peculiar in character and climate, to the condition they had attained to in 1860.

We know nothing in the history of the negro race from which we can infer that there ever was, or indeed, ever will be anywhere, a numerous negro population in as good physical and moral condition, and as fit

to form a part, although a subordinate part, of a civilized community, as the four millions of negro slaves in the Southern States in 1860. They had, as a body, attained to a higher degree of culture in morals, habits, and religion, than the race had ever known, and this by the imitation of their masters; for the negro is eminently an imitative being. But as soon as the relation of servitude and its habitual intercourse ceased, that tendency to imitate the better lessons to be learned from the whites faded rapidly. For the impressions made upon the negro are of singularly brief duration. From this constitutional defect, the negro, perhaps more than any other race, needs a government close to him, and superintending him. With no more forethought and providence than children, they need to be controlled and directed like children, and the effect of the government close to them was seen in the Southern States. Although much given to petty delinquencies, no where was there less of serious crime than among the four millions of slaves in the South. But now, we believe, few who have seen much of the negroes there within the last ten years, will deny that the bulk of them are receding from civilization. In the declining influence of religion, and often in its utter perversion, in the loss of industry and orderly habits, and in their disregard of family ties, the major part of them are drawing near to Jamaica and Hayti, on their way to Guinea and Congo.

We do not assume that any considerable portion of the white people in the South had attained to high moral and intellectual culture. We know that with the bulk of the people in any country, and of any race, religion,

moral culture, and civilization are but skin-deep. Both reason and revelation tell us that. Moreover in a new and almost exclusively agricultural country high intellectual and moral culture is not readily disseminated. But there was in the South a cultivated class, perhaps not inferior in essential qualities to the best class in any country, and their number and influence was extending rapidly westward through the South. Indeed we know of no country whatever, in which real progress and improvement were making as rapid strides as in these Southern States.

This assertion must sound strangely in the ears of those who have been taught that 'slave-holding is the sum of all villainies,' and utterly incompatible with the profession of Christianity.

We ourselves may believe that Christianity tends to abolish slavery. But how does this tendency work? Merely as it tends to raise and perfect humanity. It tends to render needless the servitude of any class of men. Christianity tends also to abolish the poor-house, the gaol, and the gallows—by rendering each of them less needed. But we are sure that all that Christianity will ever effect, on earth, will be to diminish the need for them.

The very numerous body of professed Christians in the Southern States were quite unaware that there was less of earnestness and sincerity in their faith and practice, than there was among their professing Northern neighbours. Christians in the South, although divided as elsewhere, between several churches and sects, were characterized by a general sobriety in their convictions,

and were less apt to be led off into the many extravagant *'isms'* pervading the North. The profanities and bestialities of Mormonism, and other religious monstrosities, did not originate, and never spread into the South. Although the clergy in the South were intensely zealous for the defense of the rights of these States against Northern aggression, yet *war sermons*, substituting politics for religion, were not preached by them. They left that to the Northern pulpits. Patriotic songs did not take the place of devotional hymns in Southern churches, as the 'Star spangled banner' and other political rhapsodies, did in the North. Nor was the altar, with the consecrated bread and wine of the Christian Eucharist, draped in Southern churches with the Confederate banner, as it was with the United States flag, in New York and elsewhere at the North.

The Christian clergy of the South had the Bible, the word of God; and, with the exception of the Roman Catholics, professed to make it the exclusive ground of all their teaching. But they failed to find in it any texts enjoining the emancipation of the negroes. On what ground rests the assertion that Christianity prohibits the holding of slaves? Christ, during his stay on earth, his apostles, during their whole lives, lived in slave-holding countries; they were in habitual contact with masters and slaves. Yet they never once came in conflict with slavery.

Let it not be forgotten that the slaves of the Roman, of the Greek, of the Syrian, and the Jew, were people of far higher races than the negro. Christian doctrine has

its mysteries, the meaning of which may be disputed and misunderstood; but its moral teaching is very plain spoken. Yet not only did '*that sin of sins*' '*that sum of all iniquities*' escape censure, but the Christian scriptures distinctly inculcate the relative duties of masters and of slaves. Saint Paul in his inculcation of practical Christian morals is full and precise in his teachings. In his long catalogues of sins, and of sinners, he evidently means to comprehend all the shapes taken by man's iniquity. How came he to forget to put slave-holding and the slave-holder among the sins and the sinners? So obvious is this omission, this defect in Christian Scriptures, that many of the most uncompromising apostles of human, and especially negro freedom, turned in disgust and contempt from the Bible, and appealed to a higher law.

Many, I should say most Christian men and ministers in the South believed that the negro's religious faith and practice were far more aided than hindered by his subordinate and even servile condition. And it is very far from being yet proved that they were in error.

It is often said that the possession of power over others cultivates selfishness and tyranny in the possessor of that power. It doubtless has that tendency. A common application and illustration of this remark is the conduct of the masters of slaves. Doubtless they afforded many a case in point. The possession of power over others, in any shape, is apt to generate tyranny. But far from being the only, it is not the usual and natural effect of it. The natural and usual effect of the possession of power over others is to awaken the sense of res-

ponsibility on their account. Without this, the relations of the family, of society, and of government could not exist; for they all rest upon it.

In the case of the employers of labour, especially when that employment is somewhat permanent, as in the case of land-holders, thrown into frequent, often habitual intercourse with those who live on their lands, every observant man must have seen that the usual effect of this relation is to generate the habit of considering the necessities and interests of those thus connected with, and, to some extent, dependent upon them; and this leads to the habit of acting for their benefit. This relation tends to take a man out of himself, counteracting the selfish instincts of our nature, which we oftenest see aggravated into the most unscrupulous selfishness among those who are occupied exclusively in buying and selling, and other pursuits, which bring men into only casual contact with persons little or not at all known to them.

As the land holder naturally takes an interest in his tenants and work people, so the Southern planter had a more permanent interest, and frequent intercourse with his negroes; and his relations to them necessarily assumed a somewhat patriarchal character, which counteracted that natural and almost universal antipathy springing from difference of race. His thoughts and his care were directed, not merely to the profits derived from their services, but beyond that, to providing for their wants and well being. The interest he felt in them assumed the form of duty, and went beyond that of the employer towards his hired workmen.

Among the many thousands of masters of slaves in the South, doubtless there must have been not a few shocking instances of tyranny and brutality. We can find plenty of such instances elsewhere. But the physical condition of the negroes, the rapid increase of their numbers, the rareness of the occasions on which they were prosecuted for serious crimes, and their quiet acquiescence in their condition during a four years' war of such a peculiar character—all indicate that law, custom, and the feelings of their masters generally secured to them treatment by no means adverse to their welfare.

The people of the Southern States did not hold themselves more responsible than the rest of their race for the presence of the African among them. If their fathers had bought the negroes as slaves, it was the people of England and of the North who had brought them there, and sold them as slaves; and doubtless the proceeds of the price then paid is still to be found in England and the Northern States.

There were in the South some people, perhaps a good many, who would have preferred that the negroes should never have been brought there. The result would have been that, with only white labour to rely on, the larger and especially the more fertile portions of the South would have been a pastoral rather than a farming country; and it would not have made one-fourth the progress in wealth and civilization that it had already made. But the country would have enjoyed the advantage of being free from the presence of this inferior race.

But the negroes were there, and that being the case,

nobody in the South doubted as to what was their proper position. The country, climate, and their condition as slaves, had proved so suitable to their nature, that two or three hundred thousand Africans, in a period of much less than a century and a half (taking the average time of their arrival) were represented by four million and a half of descendants. To the out of door labours of the negroes was due not merely the crude agricultural productions of the soil, but they furnished the occasion and the means for the less exposed but more skilful labours and occupations, in the same country, of a more numerous population of whites.

The people of the South knew that the welfare, wealth, and civilization of their country, and the preservation of social order in it, rested on the servile condition of the negroes. The history of their race proved that to emancipate them was to abolish reliable industry among the only race which, in that climate, could effectually cultivate the soil; to enfranchise them as citizens would throw office and power into the hands of the lowest and most unprincipled demagogues, who would soon get the control of the votes of the mass of ignorance and incapacity in the guise of negro citizens; and then use their official positions thus acquired, for every corrupt and fraudulent purpose. Nobody now can doubt, after the revelations made and being made, that the numerous body of Northern adventurers and Southern turn-coats, who, encouraged and backed by the Northern government, controlled the votes of the negroes by intrigue and bribery, were simply thieves, endowed with more skill and cunning than the common thief.

They aimed at pocketing millions of plunder, and being backed by the authority and military force of the government, were remarkably successful, until the country became exhausted of spoils.

The people of the Southern States knew that they had a civilization worth preserving, and that it was based upon the existing relations of the white and black races. They knew that no foreigner outside of the jurisdiction of their own State governments had a right to interfere in their internal political and social organization, and least of all the people of the Northern States. For they had induced the Southern States to join in the treaty that formed the Union by allowing to each slave-holding State additional representation in Congress for three-fifths of its slaves ; and also by each State pledging itself to deliver up any fugitive from another State legally held to service there.

Where two very different races meet in the same country, they are from nature and necessity antagonistic. They do not commingle, or at least very partially, and with no satisfactory results, for the offspring is apt to be wanting in the better qualities of both races. The inferior race either dies out, or becomes subject to the other. When the latter result occurs, the further subjection of individuals of the one race to individuals of the other tends to mitigate the effects of the antagonism of races. It provides each one of the subject race with an individual guardian who has the interest, desire, and power to protect him. He is no longer a masterless slave amid a crowd of masters, caring nothing for him while tyrannizing over him. We need not go far for

examples to prove that when a barbarous race is not enslaved, it is, sooner or later, exterminated. The Yankees, long ago, gave up the attempt to make slaves of the North American Indians. Since then they have been busy exterminating them. The English, not so long ago, gave up enslaving the natives of middle Africa. Since then they have been dispossessing the pastoral tribes of South Africa of their meagre pastures. For the well tended herds of the Caffres stood in the way of the cattle of the English colonists, and must be driven off. When the Caffres and others resist this confiscation and expatriation they extirpate them. But to compensate them for the loss of their thirsty and sterile lands, the English missionaries strive to lead them to the green pastures and waters of comfort in Paradise.

We do not believe that any one, who has not lived in a country where a large portion of the population are negroes, has the means of forming a sound opinion on negro slavery. He would be still better able to judge, on knowing them in both servitude and freedom. Until he has this experience it is pure presumption in him to undertake to decide this question. We are convinced that the emancipation of the negroes in the Southern States tends rapidly to diminish their numbers and revive their barbarism. And from the nature of the climate, the room left vacant by their shrinking numbers can be but sparsely filled by another race, unless a flood of Chinese migrate thither.

Yet some thirty years ago the world hailed as gospel truth on negro slavery that world-read book, "Uncle Tom's Cabin." It now turns out that the authoress,

when she wrote it, had never been in a slave-holding State, and had never seen a slave except as a fugitive from servitude. She seemed to suppose that the four millions of slaves in the South, unlike all other populations, did not embrace a criminal class. We do not mean to say that all, or half, or a third, of the fugitive slaves, who were never numerous, belonged to that class. After the war and the emancipation, the authoress of this book went to Florida and lived there some time; and, then admitted, that she found the real negroes very different from those she had painted. But we attribute little value to the opinion and testimony of a witness who, after Lady Byron's death, announces to the world that the most reticent woman in all England had told to her, a stranger and a foreigner, a most scandalous secret, which she had most guardedly suppressed during a long life, the truth of which was disbelieved and denied by her legal advisers in matters akin to it, and which was unsuspected by the scandal-seeking world, until the inventive novelist coined it into money by publishing it.

The former prosperity and now fallen state of the South concerns us here only so far as it serves to explain the present condition of the whole Union.

CHAPTER VI.

The Cause of the Secession of The Southern States.

Government is a conservative institution. The purpose for which it exists is to preserve, not to revolutionize, or destroy. We dwell upon this truism—because many people seem to have lost sight of the truth in it.

The Southern States in seceding from the Union were resisting, not making a revolution. The Northern States and the Federal government under their control, under the pretences of preserving the Union, were making a revolution, destroying one government legally established, and putting in its place a disguised representation of it, but which was really a usurping tyranny.

When the thirteen colonies declared themselves free and independent States, breaking off their connection with Great Britain, they did so on the claim that, on the principles of English constitutional liberty, each colony had the exclusive right to tax itself, and the British parliament, in which they were not represented, had no right to tax them. They made great use of this argument; yet it was, as they used it, of little value as a principle in government, for it expressed but half the truth in it, suppressing the more valuable half, and making it substantially a falsehood. Unless the taxpayers, who furnish the means necessary to the support of government, can say how much is necessary for its support; unless they have the power to limit taxation,

they have no security for their rights. And the best security they can have is to hold the power of taxation exclusively in their hands. If the power to tax is to be put into other hands than theirs, it is better that this imposer of taxes should be one autocrat than the multitude. The demands of the one may be satisfied, those of the hungry, greedy multitude can not. The one man imposing taxes can be controlled, the millions, imposing taxes, cannot be controlled.

The colonies, on renouncing their allegiance to the King, became republics, but they did not create republics. Take from the colonial governments, under which they had been long living, the royal prerogatives, and *ipso facto* they were republics. But they were not democracies, in the modern sense of the word. We believe that there was not one of the thirteen states, in which the franchise, the right to a voice in legislation, or in the choice of delegates to the legislative assembly, was not based on the possession of freehold property, or some equivalent stake in the country. And although the money value of this necessary qualification may have been small, still the State government represented and was controlled by those who furnished the means for its support—that is the tax-payers. The administration of a government founded on this basis, may prove inefficient or corrupt; but as long as the ultimate authority of government rests on this foundation, the control of it is in the hands of the class who are most able to reform abuses. This accounts for the economy and honesty which for a long time marked the expenditures and the administration of those state governments.

But high wages and the low price of land in a new country, especially in the new settlements, where almost every one became a landholder, and to some small amount a tax payer, obscured the permanent importance of this provision as to the franchise. The extreme doctrines as to the equality of men, and the inferences from it, set afloat and disseminated every where by the French Revolution, and especially among the crowd of emigrants from Europe, to whom the Federal government accorded a speedy naturalization; and the eagerness and perseverance with which demagogues seized and dwelt upon a topic so acceptable to the multitude, exercised so powerful an influence, that in forty or fifty years every restriction on the franchise was swept away in every State, Virginia and Rhode Island being the latest; and the right to vote was conceded to every white man, born or naturalized in the country, and twenty-one years of age, who was not a pauper dependent upon public charity. The States were now confederated democracies. The Government of the United States was fast becoming what it had not been, and what was never intended, one huge democracy.

Theoretical statesmen had indeed hedged in this wild, ignorant, greedy democracy with certain paper barriers, called Bills of Rights and Constitutions. But the *Magna Charta* of democracy is expressed in few and simple words: The Sovereign Majority have all rights, and the minority no rights in opposition to its will.

In a new country, with land abundant and cheap, and labour highly paid, the people prosperous and progressive, that portion of the population oppressed by and

rebelling against the narrowness of their condition, and the natural obstructions to their progress in providing for their own well-being, will be unusually small.—And in consequence that class which seeks to live by preying on society will not be numerous. A government of the most popular form may sit lightly on the country, and yet secure a reasonable amount of justice and order. But this cannot last long.

In the United States the whole country was becoming year by year more democratic, politically but not socially, especially in the Northern States. In the South the presence of a negro population in servitude modified the democratic influences of the government. But now the older portions of the confederacy were fast losing the peculiar advantages of a new country. The population, multiplying rapidly, was still further swollen by the great tide of emigrants from Europe; and in general they were those whom the country could best spare. The growth of large cities and the density of population around the commercial and manufacturing centres in the Northern States, brought with them all those struggles for employment and subsistence, all those contrasts of condition between the very rich and very poor, between the luxurious and the destitute, all the discontent and heart-burnings, all the corruption and vice of the oldest capitals in Europe; and this in the heart of the most democratic of governments.

The policy of protection for American industry had artificially built up an immense manufacturing system with its crowds of operatives dependent on its success. The rival policy of raising a great revenue for the gov-

ernment, to be expended among the people of the Northern States, had reared up another greedy, intriguing, insatiable class, who sought a living out of government expenditures. The political aims of every one of both these classes were exclusively directed to advancing his individual pecuniary interest at the cost of others. When these two classes united in pursuit of any object, if they did not make up the majority of the voters, their influence controlled that sovereign majority in the Northern States, and through it ruled the country.

A stranger in the country, who had any faith in the theories as to the simplicity, purity, and economy of republican government, might well wonder what occasion the U. S. government had for a large revenue. Its army of 14,000 or 15,000 men (in 1860) would have formed but one strong division in the field. All its ships in commission would form, not a fleet, but a squadron. The civil list called for but a small number of necessary officials with very moderate salaries, in the executive, judicial, and diplomatic service; and it was not burdened with the expenses of a regal or even vice-regal court. The interest on the public debt, amounted to little or nothing. The military and naval expenditures, the heaviest burden on other nations—here, if we might judge from the strength or rather weakness of the army and navy, was but a feather on its back. What did the United States want with eighty millions of dollars?

How the money was spent we have not time to show. We cannot go into details. Let the believer in republican purity, simplicity, and economy, search into the open vents and secret leaks by which the treasury was

drained. An army of custom house officers, with a collector and his staff of subordinates, even for the pettiest ports, where the duties collected did not suffice to pay the salaries of the collectors ; a post office, with 40,000 post masters, and a yearly deficit of 7 or 8 millions, to be supplied from the United States revenue ; numberless public works, civil and military, affording fat jobs, the profits being divided in secret between the contractors and the government officials ; great enterprises not public, but subsidized by the generous public, such as the Pacific railroad, to which the government, besides money and land given, lent sixty millions in its bonds, on which loan we believe no interest has been paid, and the principal never will be paid—(How this loan was procured and appropriated the "*Credit Mobilier*" investigation has unveiled)—and numerous other enterprises subsidized openly and secretly—some of which have, while most of them have not, been as clearly explained as that of the Pacific railroad ; Indian agencies, where the agents grew marvellously rich while cheating the indians with one hand and the government with the other ; military post sutler-ships, procured in Washington for a 'consideration,' being licenses to cheat soldiers and others at every out of the way post—the least of these classes of consumers of government revenue had Garagantua's mouth, with its capacity to swallow millions.

It was not easy to supply all these demands. But by protective tariffs and government revenue tariffs the South was drained of its earnings and wealth, and the North fattened and enriched—until the people there

were utterly corrupted, and completely lost sight of the true nature of the political institutions under which they had lived. The Federal government was to them the great bestower of bounties, and they looked only to that, magnifying its jurisdiction, and ready to sustain it in each usurpation of power. It was their government, and a source of great profit to them; for the great value of American citizenship was the privilege of taxing other people's earnings and property for your own benefit; and no one enjoyed it more thoroughly than those who had neither earnings nor property of their own. They opposed and resented most bitterly every effort of the Southern States and Southern statesmen to restrict the measures of the Federal government to the limited and specified powers delegated to it by the States. This would not only curtail their bread and butter; it would deprive them of their *pate de foie gras* and champagne.

The Federal government in the hands of the people of the Northern States proved to be the greatest possible corrupter of the people. The principle on which the country was ruled was, 'To the victors belong the spoil,' the victors being the majority who carried the elections, and the spoil what ever could be wrung out of the hands of the minority by the agency of government measures and legislation. Another subordinate principle on which they laid great stress was 'rotation in office.' According to this, by the time a man had served his apprenticeship in office, whether administrative, judicial or fiscal, he should be turned out to make room for a new apprentice, especially if another party had come into power. The labouring people learned to believe that the government

owed them a living, or at least was bound to bring profitable employment home to every man's door in the North; and those who had capital or credit held that it was bound so to manage the affairs of the public as to afford them profitable investments and speculations. And liberal government expenditure was the most obvious means of attaining these ends.

There was nothing that the people of the North feared so much as lest the Southern States should become strong enough in number, and in their population, to be able to protect themselves by their representation and votes in Congress from unfair legislation and taxation on the part of the Federal government. Conscious that they were plundering their Southern confederates they had learned thoroughly to hate them.

An early indication of the faithlessness and animosity of the North against the South was thus exhibited:— Under the colonial charters Virginia held very extensive territories on the west of the Alleghany range, extending west and north-west to the Mississippi river and the lakes; and North Carolina and Georgia held the territories west of them to the same river. These territories had very few whites settled in them, but were chiefly occupied by indian tribes. When a good many whites had settled in the Kentucky territory, Virginia authorized them to form a government of their own. North Carolina authorized the white settlers in her Tennessee territory to form a government for themselves; and these two new States were admitted into the Union. Virginia granted the remainder of its western territory, and Georgia granted the whole of its western territories to

the Federal government, for the use and benefit of all the States. At a later period the Federal government purchased from France its title to that vast region, the Louisiana territory, the money paid for it being furnished by all the people of all the States. At a later period Florida and much Mexican territory were acquired and added to the territories or public lands of the United States. All these lands, except such particular tracts as individuals had acquired titles to under former governments, as those of Spain and France, the Federal government held in trust for the benefit of all the citizens of all the States. They might be called (except that they were not in actual individual possession,) joint-tenants, or *co-parceners* in common of this property. Certainly the people of no one State had a greater right in it, than those of any other State.

Under the constitution, the laws, and the practice of the country, as long as this territory, or any part of it, remained under the control of the Federal government, any citizen of any State, had the right to migrate to any part of it (except the indian reserves), carrying with him his moveable property of any kind. The policy of the country encouraged the settlement of these territories; and after making surveys, the government habitually offered the lands for sale at a low price. Not only might any citizen from any State purchase land there, but by settling on a tract of land not exceeding a certain number of acres, (160 we believe), he acquired a right of pre-emption at the government price; and he was entitled to legal protection for all his personal and proprietary rights, just as if he had been still in his own State from which he had migrated.

Such parts of these territories, as, from climate, soil, or other natural features, attracted the attention of Southern men by being favorable to their occupations, drew many emigrants from the Southern States, and many of these emigrants carried negro slaves with them. To other portions of this common territory, differing from the former in climate, soil, or other traits, emigrants from the Northern States chiefly were attracted. Fewer Southern men went there, and few or none carried slaves with them. When any part of this common territory, large enough to form a State, became sufficiently settled to need, and be able to support a State government, the people there were permitted to organize one, and were admitted into the Union by an Act of Congress. Then it stood on the same footing as any one of the original thirteen States.

Thus it was that new States were added to the confederation, in accordance with the design of the original thirteen States when they founded the Union. Some of these new States were peopled chiefly by emigrants from the Northern States, and had few or no negro slaves in them. Others were peopled chiefly from the Southern States, had many negro slaves in them, and looked to have many more. These two different results had been brought about by geographical and physical causes. To regions in which the white man could labour to advantage few or no negroes were brought. Where climate, soil, or other influences were adverse to the field labour of the whites, the negroes were brought in.

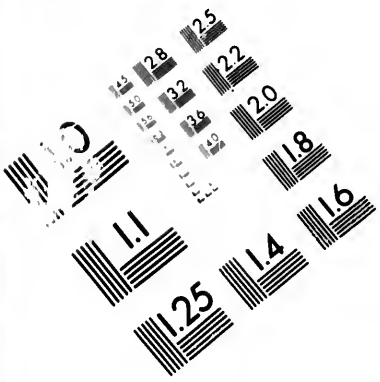
When any part of this territory common to all the States and to all the citizens of all the States, had thus

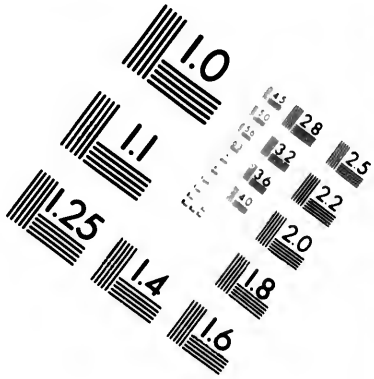
become itself a State—then, and not until then, did there arise a sovereign jurisdiction, in the new State, with authority to decide such a question as the retaining or getting rid of negro slavery. It was now a State, as much as Virginia, or any other; and had sovereign authority, within its borders, on every matter of government and legislation, except those which had been expressly delegated to the Federal government. So far from that government having any voice or jurisdiction in this matter, it was bound to accord to the new State representation for three-fifths of the slaves in it; and every Northern State had bound itself to give up every fugitive slave found within its borders, on application of the State from which the slave had fled.

It must be remembered that the right, that is the possession and control, which men exercised over their slaves seldom, in any age or country, originated in legal enactment. It was a practical right which legal enactments found men in possession of, in many countries and under various circumstances. The origin and object of laws in human society is, not to grant rights, but to protect rights which men have acquired and possess—but find to be insufficiently secured to them. The law was called in to recognize, regulate, and secure to the possessors that which they obviously held. The law no more gave them possession of their slaves, than of their horses, and cattle, and household goods. The law which punishes the horse-thief adds nothing to the proprietary right of the owner, but it adds much to his security in the enjoyment of his right. Even admitting that the State governments were wrong not to abolish negro

slavery—a matter within their jurisdiction—for their common agent, for the Federal government, created for, and limited to other special matters of legislation, to legislate as to negro slavery, was an act of pure and outrageous usurpation. But it was only the culminating act of a long series of usurpations.

The people of the Northern states having long drawn immense tribute from the South through the Federal government by its plundering tariff system for protection and revenue, feared lest the Southern States might grow too numerous, populous, and strong, to continue to submit to this system of plunder, particularly after the acquisition of extensive territories in the South, resulting from the annexation of Texas and the war with Mexico. They at once exhibited increased hostility to the South, and laboured to put a brand of inferiority upon it. They claimed that Congress had, and should exercise the right to prevent any part of the common territory becoming a slave-holding State, even though it had been peopled by emigrants from the South, taking their slaves thither with them. Many of the Northern States made it criminal to arrest or assist in arresting the very fugitive slaves which the State had pledged itself, under the treaty of the Union, to deliver to the owners. And on some occasions when fugitive slaves were arrested under process issuing from the U. S. courts, the people resisted the officers, in some cases killing them, and rescued the fugitives. Organized societies in the North employed agents to tamper with the negroes in the South, in order to render them dissatisfied, and induce them to run away; and they provided the means to facilitate their escape.





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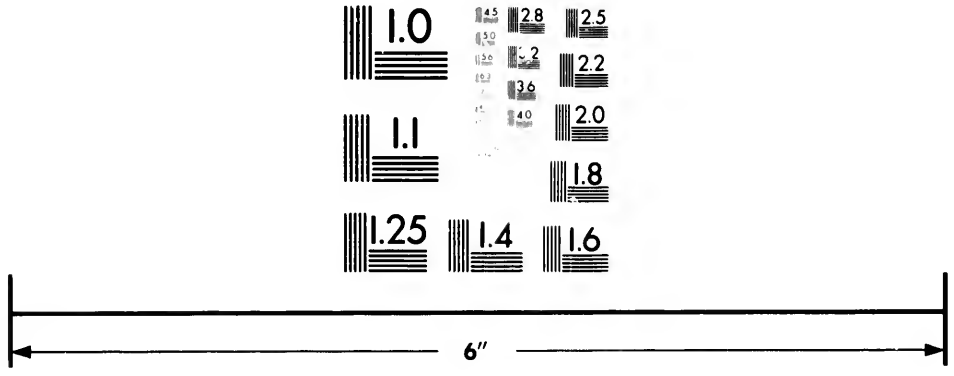

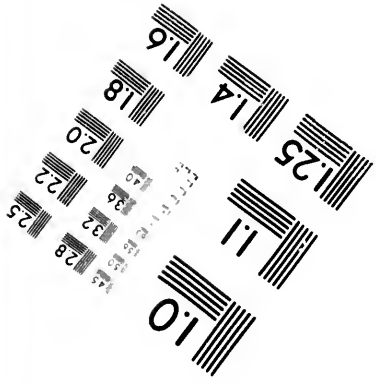

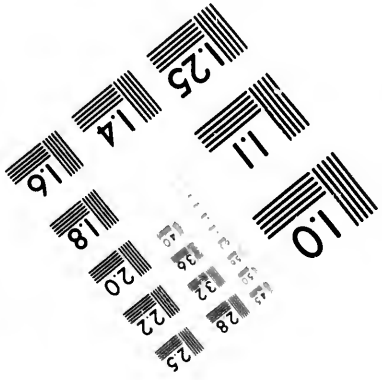

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This they called their under ground railroad. They boasted publicly of the success of these intriguing operations against their Southern confederates. But in truth, their success was small, more aggravating than injurious, the fugitive negroes never being numerous. It served chiefly to show their animosity against their confederates, and their shameless violation of the pledges they had given when confederating with them.

When ever people arrive at the conviction that slave-holding is sinful, they are in conscience bound to give it up at once. This is true of individuals and of nations. But we cannot tolerate a one-sided conscience. The people of the North by this time held no slaves. They had not found them profitable, and had sold most of those that were saleable to their Southern confederates. But, in order to secure a confederated union with the South, they had covenanted to allow them additional representation in Congress for three-fifths of their slaves, and each State pledged itself to deliver up fugitives from labour and service, that is, slaves, on the demand of the confederate from whom they had fled. They did these things willingly, in order to secure a political and commercial union with the slave-holding States, because they derived great profit from that union—and those conditions were the price they were willing to pay for it.

When their newly enlightened consciences taught them that this union with the slave-holder "was a covenant with Hell" as they now learned to call it, they were in an awkward dilemma. Yet they might have found an honest way out of it. No doubt men have a right to rescind a contract that binds them to a crime. To take

the highest possible case, nothing but the want of enlightenment of conscience leads to the fulfilment of a pledge like Jephtha's vow. But he who refuses to fulfil a criminal compact, must not claim the reward that tempted him to make it. The newly conscientious Northern States might have rescinded their "covenant with Hell" as they called their compact of union with the unrepentant slave-holding South. They might have seceded from union with it. But on what plea could they annul such articles of the treaty of Union as had become distasteful to them, yet claim the fulfilment of such other provisions of the treaty as were profitable to them?

Yet this difficulty seems never to have startled the conscience of this most conscientious people, or ever to have occurred to the mind of any of them, except one crazy Yankee orator, who once urged secession from the slave-holding South, but was quickly silenced, and did not himself adhere to this honest policy.

The simple truth is that every Northern man felt that the North was deriving immense profits from its political union with the slave-holding States; and if he were a clear headed man who understood the fiscal policy of the government, he knew that these immense Northern profits were the proceeds of a system of taxation, that was no better than the robbery of one part of the confederation for the benefit of the other. But the anti-slavery party proclaimed and believed that the South would yield quite as much and more plunder, when cultivated by free negroes, as by slaves. They had no fears of losing money by emancipating the slaves of their con-

federates, or their consciences would have failed to carry them through the task they imposed upon themselves. Their aim was to yoke conscience and profit together.

There is a fascination in the conviction that we are more righteous than our neighbours, which leads us to dwell upon that belief, and on the feelings generated by it. There is too something grand and heroic in that philanthropy which busies itself in righting great wrongs committed by other people, especially when remote from us ; for they best admit of embellishment from the glowing colours of the imagination. And to too many hearts it is intensely gratifying to find an object for unlimited denunciation and vituperation. It would be curious and perhaps instructive to collect choice samples of the phraseology of the orators who denounced negro slavery and the Southern slaveholders. They exhausted every known anathema, invented new ones, and exhausted them; yet the mouths of these same orators might be full the next moment of praises of the Pilgrim Fathers of Massachusetts, who held their slaves, indian and negro, by, we must suppose, especial license from heaven. It would not, however, be so safe to conclude that these indignant philanthrophists could never have been themselves seduced into the sins they denounced, as to remember that they were far remote from the opportunity and temptation to commit them. It was commonly remarked in the South that such Northern men as came thither, and became slave-holders, usually proved the most exacting of masters ; while their brethren in the North certainly made no scruples, and used every device, for exacting all they could out of the

proceeds of Southern industry by a most fraudulent system of taxation.

Although the feelings of hostility and depreciation towards the Southern States, as slave-holding communities, pervaded the whole North, excepting a class of individuals rather respectable than numerous, yet for a long time the anti-slavery party pure and simple, seemed to be an increasing minority, but not a fast-growing party rapidly absorbing all others. The bulk of the labouring class at the North indicated, by their treatment of the free-coloured people among them, that they were not so much bent on the abolition of slavery, as on the abolition of the negro, as something that stood in their way. But the mass of the people, and yet more of the merchants, capitalists and politicians, felt that, for the peace of the country and the profit of the North, this question of negro slavery must be handled with great delicacy, and as far as possible let alone. They disclaimed for the Federal government any jurisdiction in the matter, except perhaps in the territories. Among the multitude of evidences of this, it is only necessary to refer to one: the inaugural address of him who proved to be the abolition President, disclaims all right to meddle with slavery in the States. The commercial prosperity and financial credit of the whole North was based chiefly on the produce of the Southern States; and most people in the North professed to be angered at the violence of the genuine anti-slavery party, and alarmed at its rapid growth, fearing an interruption of the profitable condition of trade and finance. While this lasted the fiscal policy of the government secured to them too

large a share of the proceeds of slave labour, for them to desire the abolition of negro slavery.

The people of the Southern States, as a body, had been exceedingly blind to the nature and effects of the artful fiscal policy by which the North had been long robbing them. It involved too many explanations to be made clear to the masses. But they were not deaf to the unmeasured denunciations and falsehoods their Northern confederates had been long preaching and publishing against them. Nor were they blind to the demonstrations and overt acts of hostility ventured upon by the more virulent of the anti-slavery party. But there was, or seemed to be, a numerous party in the North, who professed to adhere to the terms of the compact on which the union of the States had been formed ; and who loudly protested against the aggressions of the Northern States and people against their Southern confederates. Putting faith in this party, and acting with it, the Southern States still hoped to be able to remain in the Union with self-respect and safety.

An election of President of the United States was to come on late in 1860, and the whole Union was greatly agitated by the canvass. The anti-slavery party chose for their candidate an until lately obscure man—of little capacity or attainments, except as what is called a stump orator. He had a genius for diverting a rude Western crowd with funny stories and coarse witticisms. Some able speeches were delivered by him, but they were prepared by another man. His own serious efforts only proved his ignorance and shallowness. But he was popular in the great North-west, and was a man

whom the party knew how to use for their purposes. Another party which expressly disclaimed for the Federal government any right to interfere with slavery in the States, but claimed for it the right to prohibit it in the common territories, nominated for their candidate an eminent Northwestern politician, the zealous expounder of 'Squatter Sovereignty.' A third party of no definite views, except peace at any price, brought out their candidate. And a fourth, consisting of the people of the Southern States and such people in the North as maintained the permanence and sanctity of the terms, on which the Union had been formed, and the limitations on the powers of the Federal government, nominated their candidate. The result was that the anti-slavery party carried every Northern State, and the election—the fourth party carried every Southern State, and the other parties were nowhere.

The people of the Southern States now found that they were living under a government completely in the hands of their enemies, utterly hostile to their rights and interests, and claiming a right not only to surround and hedge them out from all right in the common territories, and reduce them to complete and hopeless subjection, but to revolutionize their internal political and social organization. This was not the confederation into which they had entered; this was not the government which they had joined in creating. Unless they could submit to be revolutionized by external enemies, and become mere tributary provinces to them, it was high time to break off all connection with utterly faithless confederates, whom the most solemn treaty could not bind. The

Southern States began to secede from the Union in rapid succession, and war was made upon the South to force them back into it.

We shall make little comment on the war. But the people of the South were surprised to see those Northern politicians, merchants, capitalists, and others who made up the Democratic party there, and who had joined in loudly protesting against the usurpations of the government and the aggressions on the South—to see these men throw themselves into the arms of the new administration, seek from it office and military commands and profitable contracts, and become the zealous sustainers of every measure to crush the South. A few months after proclaiming its wrongs, they were eagerly making war upon it. This seemed strange; yet their conduct is easily explained. While they could keep the South in the Union, they enjoyed the profits of negro slave labour. If the South seceded they lost all the profits of slave-labour. The names of these men are legion, as the political journals of 1860-1 clearly show.

But there were examples of very different conduct among the most eminent men in the North. The Ex-President Franklin Pierce continued to pronounce the grievances complained of by the South to be real, and the conduct of the North and of the government a series of outrages. Ex-President Filmore, when urged by a great popular assembly in New York to become a mediator between the North and the South, for the preservation of the Union, replied:—'Let the people and the legislative assemblies of the North make redress for their outrages, and repeal their unconstitutional acts, and I will

gladly go to mediate for the Union. But until they do that, I will not budge one step." The secession of several States occurring during the last months of President Buchanan's administration, he both by words and actions showed that he held the grievances of the Southern States to be real, and felt great scruples at using force to keep them in the Union. But the Northern pressure brought to bear upon him was overwhelming. Mr. Charles O'Connor of New York, a man of high and unspotted character, and the most eminent lawyer in the United States, published an elaborate address to the public, maintaining the right of any state to secede from the Union on the violation, by other States or by the Federal government, of its rights under the Constitution; and he scouted at the idea that either the government or the other States had a shadow of right to use force to retain the seceding State in the Union. And five years after, when the war was over, the South conquered, and the Confederate President, Jefferson Davis a prisoner in Fortress Monroe, Mr. O'Connor at once offered himself as his counsel; maintaining the impossibility of convicting him of any crime. The government reluctantly perceived this impossibility of conviction on any charge that could bear legal scrutiny. Some months after Abraham Lincoln had become President, Chief Justice Taney, for nearly thirty years the head of the Supreme Court of the United States, the highest judicial authority in the Union, had occasion to pronounce, judicially, that the measures of the government and the conduct of the President and his subordinates amounted to the overthrow of the Constitution

and a trampling on all law. But military officers, with the sanction of the President, thrust aside the writs of *habeas corpus* issued from the U. S. courts, with the utmost contempt.

On the breaking out of the English revolution in 1688, Sergeant Maynard, a luminary of the English bar, hastened to join the standard of William, Prince of Orange; who, on seeing him, bluntly said:—'From your extreme age you must have outlived all the lawyers of your day." "If your Highness had not come quickly" he answered "I should have outlived, not only the lawyers but the law." Less happy than the Nestor of the English bar, the Chief Justice now found that, in *his* extreme old age, *he* had outlived the law.

There was no right more expressly acknowledged and fully secured to the people than the right to keep and bear arms. It was a right that lay at the very foundation of government, both State and Federal—and the most essential element in the security of the liberties and the rights of the citizen. Nor was any right more fully in the hands of the States, according to the Constitution, the laws, and the custom of the country, than that of officering, arming, and training the militia. This was the military force of the State, and the Federal government could only obtain the services of any part of it by applying to a State government for it. Further, if there was anything well established in the Union by the Constitution, the laws, and the customs of the country, it was the freedom of internal commerce. Any man had a right to buy anything offered for sale, and carry it to any part of the Union without hindrance.

Yet when, before the Southern States had seceded from the Union, many individuals in the South and some of the State governments, becoming alarmed at the threatening aspect of affairs and the unarmed condition of the South, attempted to purchase arms and ammunition, the Northern people and State governments were at once awake and active. The police of the States and the cities were set to watch every shipment by coast, river and railroad ; and all arms consigned to any one suspected of connection with the South were at once seized upon. All legal right was trampled upon. It was assumed that the Southern States were already subject provinces preparing for rebellion.

These doings were loudly protested against even at the North. The New York Herald, among others, denounced it as " a clearly illegal proceeding, in violation of the Constitution, and without the sanction of any law of the State. It is an unwarrantable outrage on the rights of private property, &c."

Fernando Wood, Mayor of New York, in reply to the inquiries of Mr. Toombs, Senator from Georgia, says: " I regret to say that arms intended for and consigned to the State of Georgia have been seized by the police; but the city of New York should in no way be made responsible for the outrage. As mayor I have no authority over the police. If I had the power, I should summarily punish the authors of this unjustifiable seizure of private property."

How came the Southern members of this Federal republic to be so destitute of arms and armament? The States had for many years neglected to keep up

any efficient arsenals of their own, relying on those of the common government in all contingencies. The Federal government had in store large amounts of arms and ordnance, procured by contract, or made at its own establishments, all of which, except one on the Northern border of Virginia, were in the Northern States. These arms, when received, were distributed among many depots, some of which were in the Southern States.

President Buchanan's Secretary of War was John B. Floyd, who had been Governor of Virginia, as his father had been before him. Both had been strenuous maintainers of the rights of the Southern States in opposition to the aggressions of the North. Suddenly there arose at the North a loud outcry that this Southerner had availed himself of his position, as head of the War Department, to transfer large amounts of arms from the North to the South, in anticipation of Secession; thus arming the 'rebels' while he disarmed the true men and their government. For the people there almost universally looked upon the Federal government, with its powers and means, as something belonging to themselves. It was not for one moment remembered that any property in the hands of the government belonged quite as much to the people of the South as of the North.

When Congress promptly investigated this charge, the facts at once explained and refuted it. There had been great neglect for years in replenishing the depots (called arsenals) at the South. But the United States, now following the example of European governments, had of late been laying aside the smooth-bored musket,

and old-fashioned rifle, substituting the Minie rifle in their place. In December, 1859, Secretary Floyd had ordered 115,000 arms of these antiquated patterns to be sent to Southern arsenals, to make room for the new arms in the Northern armories. The arsenals in the South received not one of these improved weapons. In the issue, one of the odds against the Southern troops was having to contend against an enemy provided with the new and superior weapon. A large portion of the better arms they afterwards obtained were taken on the battle-field from defeated enemies. Notwithstanding the evidence to the contrary, Secretary Floyd was persistently charged with treason, for sending 115,000 old muskets to depots in the South, although President Buchanan pointed out the fact that 500,000 of these old weapons still encumbered the arsenals in the North. Had Floyd foreseen the secession of the Southern States, perhaps he would have taken care that there should be a more equal distribution of government arms and munitions of war among States, each of which had an equal right to them. Yet President Lincoln, in his message to Congress on the 5th of July, 1861, did not scruple to assert that 'a disproportioned amount of arms and munitions of war had some how found themselves in the Southern States.'

Thus the Northern States and their people had control of the government, with its treasury and credit, of the army and forts, of the navy, with the power of blockading the Southern coast; and they lost no time in using that power. The South, which had chiefly paid for all these things, and had an equal right to them, had no part of

them. True to its policy of draining all it could from the South, and returning as little as possible, the government made nearly all its military, naval and other expenditures at the North, and kept the results there, except the armaments of a few forts, as Fortress Monroe, Fort Sumter, Pulaski, Pickens, and others, which served as bridles in the mouths of Southern harbours. The people of the North seemed to aim at keeping the South in the condition of the Israelites under the iron rule of the Philistines. 'There was no smith in all the land of Israel; for the Philistines said—lest the Hebrews make them swords and spears.'

The people of the Northern States made several gross blunders in estimating the condition of the South. (Talleyrand tells us that, in politics, a blunder is worse than a crime.) They had taught themselves to believe that the South would be yet more productive and profitable to them under free negro labour than under slave labour. They looked upon the condition and feelings of the negroes as identical with that of prisoners unjustly shut up in gaol. They believed that the people of the South felt that they were sitting on a volcano—knowing that the negroes were only waiting on their northern friends for the signal for insurrection to rise in arms against their cruel oppressors; and that under this fear the people of the South dared not resist the aggressions of the North and of the government under their control.

The people of the South and their leaders committed many and great blunders. But we will only name one which we think the first and greatest of all. The poli-

ticians, urging on the people the necessity of seceding from the Union, universally pronounced secession to be a peaceful right. And so it was. The terms of the treaty which had united the States into a confederation having been grossly, repeatedly, and notoriously violated by the Northern States, to the injury of the Southern, any one or all of them had a right to declare the treaty null and void, and withdraw from the Union. This was a peaceful right and no act of hostility. But the politicians went beyond this and assured the people that secession would prove a peaceful remedy for their wrongs. This was as gross an absurdity as any man, calling himself a statesman could utter. The people of the Northern States had control of the Federal government and of all its powers and resources; they had been for years in the enjoyment of large contributions or rather tribute from the industry and fertility of the South; their prosperity had been largely, we think chiefly built upon these contributions, and must decline on their withdrawal. Now it is flying in the face of all history and all experience in human nature to suppose that any people or government, with large means of waging war, will abandon possession of rich tributary territories without first striving to retain them by force of arms. It matters not whether the tribute is the result of robbery or of right. They will fight rather than give it up.

Some individuals in the South uttered earnest warnings that secession meant war, for it must lead to it; and urged prompt preparation for it. But they had not the ear of the people. If the South had any statesmen,

their counsels were not heard amid the harangues of politicians; and the States which seceded went out of the Union, with the most flimsy preparations for maintaining in arms the step they had taken. The most important provisions made for defence were due to the foresight and activity of a few individuals.

In the war that ensued the five millions of whites in the seceding Confederate States had to fight their own battles, half armed, and cut off from the outside world; but the twenty-two millions in the Northern States, supplied the deficiencies of the U. S. armaments by drawing supplies from all Europe. But what they seemed most to need were fighting men; for they continued to offer higher and higher bounties, until they had enlisted a quarter of a million of Irish and another of Germans, many, perhaps most of them fresh from home, tempted not only by high bounties, but by the hope of free farms from the lands of the 'rebels' which were freely, although privately promised them. We can hardly have over-stated the number of foreigners in the U. S. army. At the end of the war the number of men in the service was one million. The report of the Surgeon-General of the United States certifies that the majority of those who came into the hospitals were Irish and Germans. And the Confederates found that a great part of the prisoners they took had not left Ireland or Germany long. The Yankees themselves much preferred army contracts to military service.

After a four years' bloody struggle the Confederate States were overrun and conquered; the negroes, who had remained quiet all the time, were emancipated, the

State governments were overthrown, and the people thoroughly plundered. In truth, many of the later military expeditions were little else than cotton stealing raids, which well account for the sudden wealth of many officers, from the commander in chief downwards. But mere plunder did not satisfy them. Two facts indicate the spirit which actuated the Northern government and armies. When their columns, marching through the country, came to a house of the better class, which was deserted by the family for fear of being robbed and insulted, they usually burned it as the home of a traitor, and sometimes burned a whole town to unhouse a nest of traitors. Yet more galling to those who valued religious liberty above worldly possessions was the fact that, by order of the government, all the Anglo-Episcopal churches were closed, in which the President of the United States was not prayed for.

The conquered provinces were then placed under military governors, until the farce could be gone through of reconstructing the state government according to the orders and plan sent from Washington. They are now indeed called States, but they are still conquered and subjected provinces.

We say this from the conviction that but for the dominating power of the Northern States, and the military force of their government at Washington, the re-constructed state governments in the South would not have stood one day.

CHAPTER VII.

The Effects of this Revolution on the Whole Union.

We may seem at times to have wandered from our subject, but we believe that all we have hitherto said will assist the reader to understand the present condition of the United States.

In 1860 the United States were, or seemed to be, the most prosperous of countries. The financial credit of the government, of the individual States, and of numberless great corporations, stood exceedingly high in Europe, and enabled the country to borrow on easy terms all the capital it wanted. All the world that had money to lend thought the United States the best place to lend money in. This almost unlimited credit was based, not merely on the then present prosperity of the country, but yet more on its rapid progress towards greater prosperity.

But when we examine into the sources of this credit, we find that the importance of the United States to the rest of the world was chiefly commercial and financial; and that its growing importance in these respects was based chiefly on the annually increasing production by the Southern States, of staples to the value of three hundred and thirty millions of dollars already, and increasing in amount and value every year. The exports of the rest of the Union were trifles compared to this.

The greater part of the productions of the South found a ready market in Europe, and the whole of them would have done so, if a large part had not been diverted, by most unjust legislation, to serve as tribute to swell the prosperity of the people of the Northern States, serving to raise still higher that financial credit, of which they were making such free use.

This credit, much shaken during the war of Secession, was fully restored by the success of the North and of its government, as long as the real effects of this war could be concealed and misrepresented. Indeed few of those who now feel these effects most sorely seem yet to understand the causes of them. We will endeavour to point them out plainly.

When the Southern States were crushed, conquered, and revolutionized, besides the vast number of Northern men who flocked thither, or, leaving the army, remained there, in search of office, and plunder by means of office, a crowd of Northerners, of a somewhat different stamp, came down into the South. Their government had expended more than 3,000,000,000 of dollars in preserving these states, now conquered provinces, to the Union; and these men came to render the fertile South more profitable than ever to the North, by means of free negro labour; and to make their own fortunes while so doing. These Northern speculators brought an immense amount of Northern capital and Northern credit with them. Many of them sought to do a thriving business by lending largely to embarrassed Southern planters on mortgage of their lands, at 15, 18 and 20 per cent interest. But the greater number of these men

were convinced that the Southern planters had always been too indolent and ignorant to manage their affairs with skill, and that they themselves could now show them how to make crops.

They bought numberless plantations, and where they could not buy they leased them. They bought tools, implements and machinery; repaired barns, cotton gins, sugar-mills, &c., and hired negroes freely. They were certain that free negro labour would prove better and cheaper than slave labour. They found the negro generally ready to hire himself. The difficulty was to make him fulfil his engagement.

Of the Southern planters some few, even under their altered circumstances, by skill, economy, and good luck, have been able to make a decent living. But the most successful of them are far poorer than they were—nine-tenths of them are greatly impoverished, and three-fifths of them are already utterly ruined. This is the condition of those, born in the country, familiar with the nature of the negro, and bred up to agricultural pursuits there. But what of the new-comers from the North, with untold millions at their command, most of it borrowed in Europe or originally drained from the formerly fertile fields of the South? We do not pretend to know how much of Northern capital has gone Southward from first to last, either as the means of entering on these speculations, or in the effort to sustain them, or to lend at high interest to Southern land-holders, or in buying up the stocks of dilapidated and embarrassed Southern rail-roads, and in building there numberless new rail-roads, anticipating a most prosperous future for the country.

But in place of prosperity came ruin; and the old and the new roads are bankrupt. But we are sure that the outlay amounts to many hundreds of millions. We know that most of the money lenders have been compelled to take the mortgaged plantations, and turn planters themselves, or sell the plantation for far less than the debt under the mortgages.

We have yet to hear of one decidedly successful Northern man who went to the South and turned planter. Nine out of ten, perhaps nineteen out of twenty, have been utterly ruined. These Northern speculators have become more thoroughly bankrupt than even the Southern planters. We are certain that 90 per cent. of the capital carried to the South has been sunk there, never to rise again, and only serves to swell immensely the vast amount the North spent to preserve the Union. The truth is that since 1866 the crops grown in the cotton States, at least, perhaps in all the eleven States that seceded, have not paid the cost of growing them; and year by year the South has grown poorer and poorer.

Many facts prove this: and, first, the returns of the census of 1870, compared with those of 1860. The census furnishes evidences of an astonishing decline in the productions of the Southern States; so great as to warrant the conclusion that these States actually produce less than they consume.

To prove this we will go into some details. Cotton, sugar, and rice, are produced only in the South, and we select the facts as to these articles, because the whole deficiency falls upon the South.

The cotton crop of 1860 amounted to 5,387,000 bales. The crop of 1870 was 3,011,000 bales, being a decline of 2,375,000 bales. In the ten years from 1850 to 1860 the cotton crop had advanced from 2,469,000 bales to more than double. But in stating the produce of single years, as the census does, and not a series of years, we know that an unfavourable, compared with a favourable season, somewhat exaggerated the progress of increase. But had the usual average increase of the cotton crop continued down to 1870, it would have amounted to eight or nine millions, nearly three times as much as the crop of 1870.

The production of sugar in 1860 was 231,000 hogsheads. In 1870 it had fallen to 87,000 hogsheads, not much over one-third.

The rice crop in 1860 amounted to 215,313,000 pounds. In 1870 it had fallen to 73,635,000, little more than one-third.

In Virginia the tobacco crop in 1860 was 123,368,000 pounds. In 1870 it fell to 37,086,000, less than a third.

The only Southern State in which wheat was an important crop was Virginia. In 1860 the crop amounted to 13,131,000 bushels. In 1870, to 7,398,000 —somewhat more than half.

Maize, or indian corn, is a most important crop in the Southern States, being the chief breadstuff of the people, and the chief food of live stock on a farm. In some States, down to 1860, there was a considerable surplus for exportation.

The States of Virginia, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and

Arkansas, in 1860, produced 263,291,000 bushels of indian corn. In 1870 they produced 156,103,000 bushels, about three-fifths of the former crop. There was nothing left for exportation. Was it enough for food?

We will not cram our reader with statistics, the driest and most chaffy of all mental food—but refer him to the heavy volumes of the census. Taking the chief production of the Southern States it is apparent that the average amount of their productions in 1870 was little, perhaps no more than half of what it was in 1860, yet there was some increase of population in those ten years.

Now a decline of one-half in the productions of a country may well imply that it has fallen from the height of prosperity into utter ruin. It may imply that the country consumes all, and more than all, it produces, and that there is no surplus beyond the cost of production, and even that may not be replaced. What country is there that produces yearly twice as much as it consumes? We know of none. The truth is that the South, especially the cotton States, have grown poorer year by year, from 1865 to this day. So far from producing any surplus, it has been living from hand to mouth on the Northern capital carried there by sanguine speculators within the last twelve years. The South since 1865, has been suffering under a chronic state of scarcity of the necessaries of life, at high prices in a poor country. Far more cases of death from actual want occur in it, and chiefly among the negroes and especially their children, than in any country in which productive land is abundant in proportion to the population.

We know that a totally different picture from this is assiduously presented to the world, as exhibiting the present condition of the South. Every newspaper there, and every man of business who has his capital at stake there, does the utmost to give a favorable impression as to the revival of industry and prosperity. They vainly hope by concealing ruin to ward it off. They are galvanizing a corpse. But this concealment and misrepresentation become more impossible every day.

It must not be imagined that the Southern States, taken as a whole, form a very fertile region. It is naturally less fertile by far than England, Ireland, France, Italy, and other countries we could name. Its late prosperity was based, first on the abundance of improvable land, and then not less on agricultural skill and industry, protected by well ordered and economical State governments, which no longer exist.

There is no better measure of the prosperity and decline of a country than the rise and fall in the price of land. There is a great deal of land in the Southern States that never was sold but at very low prices—and much may be said never to have had any value but for the timber growing on it. Of these lands we need not speak; but of the fertile and improvable soils much had been rendered highly productive, and much that changed hands from time to time brought high and increasing prices. A vast deal of land has been sold since the end of the war, and prices have continued to fall from year to year. And in the cotton States at least, it would be an extravagant estimate to suppose that land would

on an average bring one-fourth the price it would readily have commanded before 1860. Indeed in many parts of the country, formerly highly prosperous, many plantations have been sold for less than a tenth of their former value, and the purchasers have been since ruined by cultivating them. It may be said now as to the plantation States, that with rare exceptions, land can find no sale, has no price, and is often not worth the tax imposed on it. Extensive and valuable estates with costly improvements on them, and in the cultivation of which in cotton, sugar, and rice, many thousands of dollars were expended every year, are now thrown out untilled, and the dwellings, mills and other buildings are rotting to the ground. There is very far less land under cultivation than in 1860, the cultivation is far worse, and dilapidation and abandonment increase from year to year. Most of the negroes who have bought or rented land to farm for themselves, fail even to feed themselves, and after a year or two return to the condition of hired labourers—and can be little relied on as such. In the greater part of the country all other culture is slighted to make the cotton crop, the only one that brings any money into the country, and of that but a half crop is made. It is very difficult to ascertain what the cotton crop now amounts to. Before 1860 it was estimated from the receipts at the Southern shipping ports, no account being taken of the small percentage used in the regions that produced it. But now much of the crop goes northward, inland, by the Mississippi and the railroads. We believe that the same cotton is sometimes counted twice, perhaps thrice, in

making up the estimates of the crop—for instance at Memphis, then at St. Louis, then at some Atlantic port. The cotton buyers, early in the season use every device to make the crop out larger than it really is; as that cheapens the staple to them. And they find no more efficient agents for this purpose than the officials of the United States agricultural bureau, which reports from time to time the prospects of the crop.

Yet the bulk of the exports from the Union are still furnished by these impoverished Southern States, in the shape of cotton, tobacco, and some other products, much as they are reduced in quantity and value. And the greater part of the revenue of the United States is still derived from a tariff system, which is simply a robbery of the South.

There is one interest in the South which, in many parts of the country, has suffered even more than agriculture, and that is pastoral industry. Great as have been the depredations of the negroes on the farmers' crops; (and cotton affords peculiar facilities to the thief, as it can be gathered and sold in the same night to the receivers of stolen produce now infesting the country) their depredations on his live stock exceed them. Although the climate in the greater part of the South is too hot for a fine grazing country, these States formerly bred numbers of horses, kine, swine, and sheep. The large amount of unenclosed land furnishes a free and wide range for them. But the census shows a monstrous diminution of live stock of all kinds, and we know that in particular parts of the country planters who had large stocks of cattle, sheep and swine running at large,

now have none. The idle and hungry negroes killed them off secretly in the woods and swamps, and by night. Luckily they have not acquired the French taste for horse-flesh. We know that not a few planters still cultivating much land, and who once had herds of a hundred head, have not one cow. All the milk their families now use is that which is imported, dried and prepared for sale in packages. A cow would have to be kept under lock and key to prevent the negroes milking it. We knew other planters who had herds of swine in their wooded swamps, and fattened and killed one or two hundred every winter, who do not now get one from that source.

With the exception of the great grazing State of Texas, the South has long failed to supply itself with animal food. The scanty supply of bacon eaten there is imported from the North Western States.

Previous to 1860 the Southern States were the most prosperous agricultural communities in the world. But even then their prosperity accrued, not so much to their own benefit as to that of the Northern States; for the sovereign majority in the North had contrived to reduce the South, financially, to the condition of tributary provinces, and drew an immense tribute from them. Now not only is that tribute lost to the North, but it is now burdened with the maintenance of a costly pauper who has proved a great consumer of its shrunken resources. The South has become a paralyzed limb, to a by no means healthy body. And the chief indication of vitality in this paralyzed limb is an occasional, violent convulsion.

But, it may be said, the United States have become a great manufacturing country. Is not that a resource that may yet maintain its prosperity?

The Federal government, by a most unnatural and unjust fiscal policy which it has pursued for fifty years, succeeded in building up an immense but forced system of manufactures throughout the Eastern and Northern States. The enterprising Yankee undertook to manufacture everything, even to the natural productions of other countries. The moment he found that some people abroad had such natural facilities that they could make any particular article cheaper and better than he could, he hastened to his paternal government, and got it to handicap the foreigner so heavily that the Yankee alone could reach the winning post, the home market of the United States. Thirty, and forty, and fifty per cent duties on foreign goods were long odds in his favour—but not always enough. We believe the duty on foreign silks is sixty per cent. For a time this system of taxation served its purpose well. For although the Yankee manufacturers could sell little or nothing in the world abroad in competition with cheaper and better goods, they had the monopoly of the home market, in most articles, sustained by the immense amount, and the artificially cheapened price of Southern produce, and by the great demand in the South for manufactured goods; and this made a profitable little commercial world of itself.

The great tribute paid by the South to the Northern manufacturers on protected articles, the great revenue it paid to the government in duties on foreign goods,

(for after all the manufacturers failed to supply all the country wanted) added to the immense amounts borrowed abroad and expended in developing the resources of the country, gave to the North the appearance of vast prosperity. This prosperity brought on a great rise in wages, in the cost of materials, of the necessaries of life, in the style of living. For everyone thought that he was making his fortune. Living in New York was more costly than in London, twice as costly as in Paris. Ostentatious people, becoming pinched in their incomes, went to European capitals to economize.

But the country has lately waked up from its dream of manufacturing and commercial prosperity to find it only a dream.

Its vast system of factories and work-shops, and commercial agencies, and its net-work of rail-roads that covered the country, have lost their best and greatest customer, and the bounty they made him pay on their industry. Their customer, the South, is worse than a bankrupt—he is a pauper, and it costs them money to keep him. Under the changed condition of the country they now find that all the outlay they have made, chiefly of borrowed money, in manufacturing, commercial, and transportation agencies, has been quite over-done; and rival establishment are cutting each others throats in their efforts to secure to themselves the diminished and embarrassed trade of an impoverished and mutilated confederation. The country is now actually losing money on its investments in manufacturing establishments and enterprises that have run it deeply into debt.

It is curious to see how the signs of the times are

miscontrued by those prophets who pretend to know and foresee all things. The London Times and Pall Mall Gazette are frightened at seeing certain cotton stuffs from the U. S. underselling even in Manchester, the manufactures of that locality, In their eyes the Yankee is bearding the British lion in his den. Here in Canada we recognise these cheap Yankee goods, sold below the cost of making them, as bankrupt stock, 'slaughtered goods' sent abroad to be sold for what ever they will bring, because the sale of them in the U. S. would beat down the price of all similar goods, which already hang so heavy on the manufacturers' hands. These marvellous cheap goods are the evidence of some bankruptcies, but they foreshadow many more.

It is curious to trace the effects which the protective system, the vast borrowings, the vast expenditures, and the high cost of materials, and of living, have had on the U. S. merchant marine. For a long time the United States were a great ship-building country. Thirty years ago, perhaps later, the merchant marine of the U. S. was the second in the world, and in tonnage fell not far short of that of Great Britain. Now, even with its river steamers included, it is a poor shrunken thing, and the exports of the country go in foreign and safer bottoms to the markets of the world. The United States have lost their ship building, and their carrying trade, and all the profits derived from them. Yet the government has spent millions to bolster up lines of steamers; and some of the ugliest of the numberless frauds perpetrated on the public treasury have been connected with these efforts to revive the marine interest of the country.

But the United States, it may be said, are still a country of vast resources; they can rely on their developed and their undeveloped agricultural wealth. If the South be permanently ruined, it is but a corner of the country that is ruined. The great West, wide and fertile, can give employment to all the factories and work-shops—to the great net-work of rail-roads that connect every part of the country, to all the commercial depots, and agencies scattered over it. It can repay all that has been borrowed, and replace all that has been lost.

Let us look into this great West. Through the blessing of a most favourable season last year, it harvested a monstrous crop of grain. In the midst of the distress and embarrassment of the whole country, men's spirits rallied and revived at this prospect of plenty. But man is never satisfied. One blessing only makes him long for another, and all the wheat growers and wheat dealers, who believe in a God, were praying for a general war in Europe to raise the price of grain.

All trades have their technical phrases; and among the grain dealers in the United States you will often hear of the 'wheat centre' around which central point cluster the largest productions of wheat. It will be worth one's while to trace the migrations of this wheat-centre; for it is not a stationary point. There was a time within this century when the people of the six New England States grew the wheat for their own bread. Now they could not feed themselves with home grown wheat for a fortnight. Since then New York was a great wheat growing State, and the wheat centre stood in it. Now its

wheat crop cannot feed its people for five months. After that Pennsylvania was a great wheat grower, and the wheat centre was found there. Now its people can eat up the wheat crop in ten months. Stepping for a moment out of the line of the wheat centre's migrations, we will remark that as late as 1860 Virginia produced twelve bushels of wheat for every person in it. In 1870 it produced only six, and now probably less. The wheat centre for a time took its station in Ohio. Then it moved into Indiana and Illinois, but is now somewhere between Iowa, Wisconsin and Minnesota. But from its past history we infer that it will not stop there long; and as in its migrations it has always moved westward, it must then take a long leap over to Oregon and California. Let General Hazen tell us the reason why.

General Hazen is an officer in the U. S. army, and seems to have been much employed in the far West, perhaps in topographical exploration of the country. A year or two ago he published an interesting article, it may have been an official report, of what he had seen there. In it he tells us that there lies East of the Rocky Mountains a country twelve hundred miles square, (1,440,000 square miles, seven-sixteenths of the territory of the United States) which is a desert with not five per cent of improvable land. And General Hazen's account is confirmed by others who know the country well. The cold winter there may be no fatal objection to any part of this country, but the heat and drought in summer would keep the soil for ever sterile, if nature had not already made it so. It may afford some good pasturage during a short season—but even for that purpose it

is worth little. For the measure of the capabilities of a pastoral country, is its power of feeding stock, not during the most plentiful, but during the scarcest season of the year. It is said to be a country of great mineral wealth. But all the treasures buried beneath its *strata*, would not tempt the wheat centre to linger one moment on the soil-less surface that covers them.

If New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia have been worn out as wheat growing regions; if there be truth in the assertion attributed to Abraham Lincoln, who lived in Illinois and knew it well, that the wheat fields of that once fertile State had sunk to an average of eight bushels per acre; if the wearing out of virgin soil by successive croppings, without rest or rotation, be the true characteristic of American farming, we may safely infer that the great wheat crops of the West will not prove a permanent resource to the country.

The restless wheat centre, setting out from the coast, has already travelled twelve hundred miles from the Atlantic, and would travel further if it could. If this wheat is grown for European consumption, it costs a great deal to get it to market. Of three bushels on their way to market, two eat up the third and lose something of their own weight and bulk before they get there; for wheat is a heavy and cumbrous article in comparison with its value, and soon eats up the price in travelling expenses.

This was one of the great advantages enjoyed by the cotton States, while there were cotton States, and while they made a cotton crop worth talking about. Their great staple, even when sold cheap, was still of great

value in proportion to its weight. If the farmer in the far west got ninety cents per bushel for his wheat, it was worth to him at most but one cent and a half per pound. The cotton planter quite as often, if not oftener, got twelve cents a pound for his cotton. If the wheat and cotton set out together on their travels in search of a market, when the wheat had expended its whole first cost in travelling expences, the cotton would have spent only twelve and a half per cent. A great and remote traffic must be sustained by more costly commodities than food, and especially grain, one of the cheapest forms of food.

If in 1860 the people of the United States, from a praiseworthy wish to pay some small part of the money they owed in Europe, had denied themselves the use of wheaten bread, and, while living on potatoes, maize and oatmeal, had sent all their wheat to market abroad, it would not have netted, at the average price of wheat, as much as the cotton crop of the Southern States in that year, but would have fallen short of the cotton at least ninety millions of dollars.

We do not know what the wheat crop may yield in this the most favourable season in the United States within twenty or thirty years. But after all the boasting as to the wheat crops of the States—most people will be surprised to learn that the little region of England, with but fifty thousand square miles (equal to one thirty-fourth part of the U. S.) produces not much less than half as much wheat as all the States did in 1870 and more than half of their crop in 1860. If all the people in the United States used no bread stuff but

wheat, so far from exporting large quantities, they would often have to import it, for only a good crop could supply their wants.

One who is familiar with farm labour and farm produce in England, Ireland, Germany and France, would not think the United States a very advantageous country for farming. The chief advantage is the abundance of land, and the consequent low price and rent paid for it. But good land is not abundant. There are many drawbacks to farming. The extremes of the seasons are one of the chief. North of latitude 40, except in some limited regions, the ground is frozen hard and the plough cannot enter it from December until April, and often until May—so that all tillage is interrupted for five months, during which much could be done to the land on a farm in Western Europe. On the other hand the summers are very hot, throughout the country, compared with those of Europe, North of the Alps—and in consequence, North America is by no means as good a grain growing region as Western Europe.

The summer is everywhere too hot, and in the North the winter too cold and long; wheat, oats, and barley, after lying dormant for months, are hurried on by sudden heat to premature maturity, with too few months of growth to produce the full and heavy yield common in more temperate climates. Every farmer knows that the more months a crop continues progressing naturally to maturity, the fuller the return it will make to his labour. In America the small grains are hurried on by the heat and dryness of the summer, to hardening before they have attained all their plumpness and weight. A

bushel of grain, wheat, barley, and especially oats, weighs far less in the U. S. than in Great Britain, and much fewer bushels are made to the acre.

The climate of three-fourths of the U. S. is far better suited to maize, the farinaceous grain which nature sowed there. It is now the common bread stuff of half the country; and should the Northern States ever become really populous it will rival the potato in feeding the other half. America is not destined to be the granary of Western Europe. It is probably as much so now as it ever will be. There is much barren land, in every part of the continent. The better soils have been or are being rapidly exhausted by continuous cropping; and little is done to restore their fertility. Few lay stress on feeding their land, that their land may feed them. The ocean is both directly and indirectly the great source of the more fertilizing manures; and on a large and compact continent the bulk of the land lies far beyond the reach of that source of supply.

Slave labour is supposed to have been always accompanied by a slovenly, vicious, and wasteful system of agriculture. Yet the only instance in the United States, known to us, in which an extensive region has been restored from exhaustion to renewed fertility, occurred in a slave State. In 1820 the soil of the Eastern and larger part of Virginia was so much exhausted by unskilful cropping, and especially by the cultivation of tobacco, that there was a great and continued migration Westward in search of new lands. But after some enterprising and skilful planters had adopted and zealously disseminated a judicious system of culture, manuring,

and rotation, it revived rapidly, became a large wheat producing region, and in 1860 was one of the most thriving of the farming States.

It may be worth while to mention another instance, on a smaller scale, of an effectual restoration or rather creation of a fertile soil, also in a slave State. There are a row of flat sandy islands along the coast of South Carolina and Georgia, many of them of considerable size. The climate and soil are peculiarly fitted for the growth of what is, or rather was known as sea-island cotton, that variety of the plant producing the finest and longest fibre, and commanding a treble, quadruple, and even quintuple price. But the light soil was quickly worn out. These islands are separated from the mainland and each other, not only by water courses—but also by salt mud flats, covered with a thick growth of coarse marsh grass, (the *Spartina Glabra*, we believe) and they are covered at high tides with salt water. The cotton planters gradually adopted the laborious and complicated process of cutting, at low tide, great quantities of this marsh grass, and of the salt mud on which it grew, spading it like peat or turf, then hauling it to their fields, where it was pulverized and harrowed into the soil, which was effectually renovated by this manure laboriously rescued from the arms of the sea. But these artificially fertilized islands are now barren of all but weeds.

We are satisfied that it is only under peculiarly favourable circumstances that effort is made to recuperate the soil in the United States. Many things are there adverse to farming, and even with cheap farms and

large farms few men grow rich on them. Even in the healthier parts of the United States the extremes of climate discourage, perhaps forbid that assiduous and continuous field labour throughout the year which marks the farm-labourer in Western Europe. In the United States but a small proportion of farm-labourers will engage or can get engagements by the year. The natives grow up averse to steady farm work, and can be scarcely tempted to it by high wages; and the farmer has to look chiefly among the newly come Irish and Germans to find his hired man.

The farmer struggles against many obstacles to profitable farming besides the seasons and the soil. The high wages of labour and the unreliable character of the labourer, the high price to which the protective system has raised most of the supplies, materials and implements needed on the farm; the burdensome taxes on land and on improvements on it, by State, and county, and township assessments sadly cut down his profits. We have been told by farmers that these burdens often amount to three or four per cent on the assessed value of the land, and that the amount of that assessment is much influenced by the consideration, whether the assessors and assessed belong to the same or different political parties.

In one branch of industry and skill the people of the United States have made remarkable progress. No where have the inventive faculties of the mechanician been more earnestly and successfully tasked, and besides their own inventions they have laid claim to many that they never made. The circumstances of the country

stimulated this development. Demand for labour and scarcity of labour are father and mother to labour-saving contrivances; and among these have been many agricultural implements greatly expediting labour on the farm. But as they almost always aim only at getting a crop out of the land speedily and cheaply, and few or none at the recuperation of the soil, they have hastened, not retarded the impoverishment of that soil. In some of the North Western States thousands of acres of rich prairie land in one body, without tree or stump, root or stone, lie ready for the plough. Agricultural speculators eagerly secured possessions of these tracts. In many cases many thousand acres formed but one farm—for the absence of all materials for fencing, made enclosures too costly a process for small holdings. The capitalist called to his aid all the most efficient implements and machinery for deep ploughing, thorough harrowing, drilling, sowing and covering. When the crop ripened, portable steam thrashers, travelling from one point to another of this wide domain, thrashed out the wheat, leaving the straw to dry in the almost rainless summer, and all its valuable elements to be sublimated and dispersed by the scorching sun and the sweeping winds of the unsheltered prairie. We see admiring paragraphs published, commenting on these gigantic agricultural feats, which have extracted ship-loads of wheat from a single farm. But in a very few years the proprietors, —we will not call them farmers—find that they have exported not only their crops, but their farms. The land is well nigh dead from exhaustion, and the bare site is far remote from the means of manuring and recupera-

tion. Fertile and productive regions have become barren and desolate before now. And some of these farming merchants have become bankrupt even before their farms were worn out.

In almost every civilized country most of the wealth is represented by the land-holders, the rural proprietors. Even where such property is widely distributed among many, not a few examples of great wealth are found among them. This class have the most fixed and permanent interest in the country. Much of the refinement, cultivation and integrity in the country is found among them—and they exercise great social and political influence. It is not so in the United States. It was so in the older and long settled Southern States; but it is so no longer.

The farmers furnish the productions on which many classes of traders and speculators make, and often lose immense fortunes, but the farmers seldom grow rich except in a very small way. In the United States the large land-holder finds no class of tenants, with skill, capital, and trustworthy character, to take leases of farms at rents remunerative to the owner. And if, rather than let his land lie idle, he undertakes to farm on a large scale, every one he employs makes all he can out of him without scruple, for a large land-holder is looked upon as a monopolist, and lawful prey; and he generally ends by being ruined. The only available use for a large landed property, is to speculate upon it, by cutting it up into small allotments, and selling them out at retail price, as the shop-keeper does with his stock in trade.

One of the chief natural resources of the United States is undergoing rapid extinction. When North America was first colonized few countries were better clad with valuable forest growth than the Eastern half of the continent. Throughout the earlier history of the country much of its wealth was derived from this source. The amount of timber of all kinds seemed inexhaustible. Ship-building, the preparation and exportation of timber, and of what are known in commerce as naval stores, were for a time the chief industries of the country.

But the forest is cut down, and where are the ships? How few compared with what they once were! What timber is left is of inferior quality, remote from water courses, and will not repay the cost of bringing it to market. The forest, the growth of centuries, can never be replaced, and the want of it deteriorates the climate. Already a considerable part of the United States is dependent on Canada for timber; and we have good assurance that this supply will not last long.

The rich men in the United States are not the proprietors of the fields, meadows, and pastures, the broad acres, the visible and tangible property of the country. They do not much care for this kind of property. Its annual yield is too moderate and comes in too slowly for them. The rich men of the country, or the reputed rich, are bankers, merchants, manufacturers, and above all, successful gamesters in stock jobbing of all kinds, in government, and State, and municipal bonds, and railroad corporation stocks, in government contracts got by official favouritism for a high fee; and all these things are of most fluctuating and uncertain value. Most of

these millionaires have been lately raised into notice by some lucky speculation or peculation, and on a change of luck may be never heard of again—like many a Crœsus who has lately disappeared in bankruptcy. But they are the leading spirits of the day—the objects of envy and admiration to that monstrous class, who are seeking to make their fortunes by bold strokes in the feverous and gambling markets of the United States.

The United States have been for some years growing less prosperous in their agriculture, their manufactures, their commerce, their marine resources, and their forest productions, than they ever have been for any prolonged period; and we believe that their present condition can be distinctly traced to growing and permanent causes.

CHAPTER VIII.

Political and Social Condition of the United States.

The United States cover a vast region of country not unblest in climate and soil, not wanting but rather abounding in mineral wealth; and inhabited by a highly capable population. Why should they not prosper? Because evil agencies, political and moral, are, and long have been making war upon their prosperity.

The people of those States which first formed the Union were fortunate in inheriting, with their Anglo-Saxon blood, valuable political and social institutions which, while kept pure and unperverted, protected their rights and promoted their welfare. But they gradually lost sight of the principles, on which political and social life can be safely organized, and gave themselves up to the guidance of false maxims in government and sociology, which have led them a long way towards moral and material ruin.

We will specify some of those principles which they have thrown away.

The colonies quarrelled with the mother country because they were taxed by its parliament in which they were not represented, 'No taxation without representation!' This sounds like a safeguard to one's rights; yet it is but a half truth, valueless and deceptive until you add the suppressed half to it. 'No representation without taxation!'

Government is a necessary agency. Society cannot do without it. But it is a costly and burdensome agent; and moreover one whose powers have often been grossly abused and perverted from their true objects. Yet its powers must be entrusted to some person, or persons, or class of persons. The only class of persons to whom the ultimate control over the government can be entrusted with reasonable hope of good results, is that which furnishes the means of supporting the government, and feels the burden of its costly maintenance. This class are the tax-payers, the holders of visible, tangible property, which cannot hide itself from taxation. This class has a direct and obvious interest in watching the government and the officials who administer its powers—in checking extravagance and enforcing economy and honesty in government expenditure; for they furnish the means. They have every motive for watching that the operations of government are directed to the protection of the rights and the redress of the wrongs of individuals, and the safety of the community—and not perverted to purposes for which it was not created. For this class have not only personal and social rights, like other people, but they possess vast acquired and vested rights peculiarly apt to suffer from the neglect or abuses, or perversion of government; rights, on the protection and security of which the welfare and civilization of the country depend. This class may be very numerous, or may consist of comparatively few, according to the circumstances of the particular country. But in every civilized country it forms but a minority, and usually a small minority of the people in it. Yet their right to be

intrusted with the ultimate control over the government and its officials will not be hard to see when we have considered two other suppositions. 1st, That of one man being the imposer, collector, and expender of taxes. 2nd That while the property-holders pay the taxes, those who hold no property and pay no taxes, should impose them. Do not say that this is an impossible case. But it is certain to prove a ruinous arrangement. These imposers of the taxes have no motive for enforcing on the government economy and honesty in its expenditures. They may become interested in its extravagance, its dishonesty, and in the perversion of its powers. Is not this what has happened in the United States?

The individual States originally had in their political organization this safe-guard against the extravagance, dishonesty, and perversion of their governments. We believe that in every one, certainly in nearly all of them the franchise was limited to the freeholder, a basis of political power wide enough to secure attention to the protection of the personal and social rights of every citizen, choice enough to secure that all who ultimately controlled the government and its officials, should have a direct interest in preserving that government from corruption, and the perversion of its powers. Accordingly these State governments were, for many years, efficient without becoming burdensome or corrupt.

But the ultimate control of government and of its officials is not now in the hands of those who have a direct and obvious interest in the economical, honest, and unperverted exercise of its powers. That class has but a very small voice in the matter, and no power to protect

themselves or other people, except by bribing the multitude of needy and mercenary voters, and paying exorbitantly for their votes.

By the theory of the government, in the States and in the United States, all power is in the hands of the majority of voters on the basis of universal manhood suffrage; and nothing but some forms of an effete political organization, termed the 'Constitution of the United States' stand between the sovereign majority and their absolute despotism. The minority are nothing. This sovereign majority consists chiefly of men who have no direct and obvious interest in the honest and economical administration of the powers of government. So far from its burdens apparently falling on them, they feel a direct and obvious interest in its expenditures being not only liberal but extravagant. It is their aim that it should multiply offices, undertake great public works, give out great contracts, embark in every kind of undertaking, assume every duty that can be forced into the sphere of government operations, to swell its patronage and multiply the paid dependants on its bounty. It is their government, and ought to be their servant, bound to do their work in securing to them prosperity in the shape of good employment at high wages at least, if not a fat office, or a profitable contract.

The vast majority of this sovereign people derive all their political notions from the harangues of the demagogues of the platform and the press, men seeking their favour and vote for office, or their support to some measure in which the orator has a direct but unseen interest. The vast majority of the sovereign people have

most confused and false notions as to what the best and most powerful government can do, and cannot do for those who live under it. In commenting on the conduct of public affairs there are many unwelcome facts to be dealt with, many unpleasant truths to be told. But the telling of unpleasant truths is not the way to win the mass of voters. Those public men whose good sense, foresight and honesty lead them to raise a warning voice and utter unwelcome truth, to point out obstacles that obstruct the people's wishes, or evil consequences that will follow their wilful course—these men, one after another are dropped out of public life. The more adroit courtiers of the people, those 'flattering prophets who prophesy smooth things, prophesy deceits;' who pander to every passion, prejudice, and animosity, and every extravagant and groundless hope—nay the very jesters and buffoons that divert the crowd, become the chosen counsellors of the mob; and the mob is king.

The lower the stratum of population on which you lay the foundation of political power, the more mixed the ingredients of that stratum in race and character, the more completely you throw the government into the hands of demagogues, and the more unscrupulous these demagogues become.

It is by no means yet ascertained that an unmixed Anglo-Saxon population, whose hereditary institutions and customs have best tended to train them for it, can maintain a decent, orderly government on the principles of democracy and universal suffrage. It is certain that all other races have signally failed (unless the Swiss, under their very peculiar circumstances, form an excep-

tion, and we do not know this.) It is certain that when you introduce citizens of inferior races you increase and complicate the difficulties. But to the original Anglo-Saxon population of the United States have been added millions of foreigners, most of them of races that have shown peculiar aptitude for popular government, several millions of negroes incurably ignorant and incapable by race, and probably far more future millions of Chinese; for it would be treason against what has become the fundamental principle of the government to attempt to exclude them. This system of sovereign democracy verges close upon a reference of all measures of legislation and taxation to a parliament chosen by the loafers and tramps that swarm in every part of the country.

It has already come to this, that the sovereign popular majority can never again be represented by any considerable number of decent and honest men. Men who respect truth, fair dealing, and themselves, cannot go through the training necessary to secure the favour and support of the local constituency of a section of this sovereign mob. And he, who has successfully gone through that training, is not fit to be trusted by any honest man, or in any honest transaction. The direct effect of this basis of government is to fill all offices with the most artful and unscrupulous demagogues. It is only by a rare combination of chances, or by the influence of very great abilities that an honest man can get into a post of importance; and then he is quite out of countenance, on looking into the faces of his brother officials around him.

Previous to 1860 the Southern States undoubtedly exercised a conservative influence which checked the growing corruption of men in office. Most of the Southern representatives were sent to Washington expressly to watch and expose and oppose the frauds and peculations of politicians and place-men. They formed an opposition which, although it failed to prevent the systematic robbery of the South by the government, yet could check the operations of individual thieves in office and of rings or combinations of them; and although there was peculation and knavery in almost every branch of the public service, it was on a comparatively small scale, and not seldom exposed and punished.

But the overthrow and conquest of the South, swept every Southern statesman and patriot from the halls of Congress, and filled their places with Northern adventurers and Southern turn-coats, who could be bought up with a round sum, or negro representatives who could be bribed at less cost. Since then, frauds and plundering in high places have multiplied and grown to gigantic stature. Millions, untold millions have been the prize—for no one knows to what extent the government and the country have been robbed. What a startling narrative of rascality in high places, involving Senators and Representatives in Congress—and the Vice-President, is furnished by the history of the 'Credit Mobilier' and the sixty millions of government bonds lent to aid the Pacific railroad; and by the purchase of the utterly worthless territory of Alaska, and the difference between the millions the United States paid and what the Russian government received. Need we refer to the

manifest corruption in procuring subsidies to the Pacific Steam Navigation Co.—to appointments to indian agencies and to post sutlerships—to the immunity from prosecution of the Whiskey ring? and to a multitude of transactions of the same stamp? We will dwell for a moment on one of them.

Perhaps the most skillful and profitable series of stock jobbing transactions the world ever witnessed emanated from Washington, and from the treasury department there.

Everybody knows that while the currency of the United States for years has been National bank notes, and the legal tender notes of the government, yet nothing but gold is received at the custom-house in payment of duties. The paper money (lying promises to pay) being plentiful, and gold being scarce, paper money fell many per cent below gold; or, in Yankee parlance, gold rose many per cent above paper money. Their phraseology avoided stating the simple and obvious truth that it was the paper money that fell and fluctuated in value, not the gold that rose in price. As to him, who is gliding down the river on a swift boat, every object on the shore seems to be hurrying up the stream, so those, who had embarked themselves and their fortunes on a fluctuating paper currency, said that gold was rising in value, whenever they found themselves swept downward by the ebb of the financial tide.

As every one that imported foreign goods needed gold to pay the duties, there sprung up a market for gold coin—and the great but fluctuating demand for gold to pay duties, caused a corresponding fluctuation in the

value of paper money. Some times it took more paper money, and sometimes less, to buy a fixed sum in gold. The notorious gold room in New York was the scene of the excited and noisy transfer of golden millions daily; and became the financial gamester's hell. For soon stock-jobbing operations by individuals, and by conspiring rings of adventurers, became far more the source of these transactions than the commercial demand for gold.

The government was the great receiver of gold, through the custom-house, and the great holder of gold; for, keeping it, it paid all its current expenses in paper money. When in want of paper money, the Secretary of the Treasury would put some millions of gold in the market, and sell it for the paper with which he paid the current expenses of the government.

A judicious and patriotic treasurer would not miss the chance of doing a little financiering for the relief of a needy government and depleted treasury, by with-holding the sales of gold until, in Yankee parlance, the price rose very high, that is until a great deal of depreciating paper money could be got for it. Then, by suddenly putting it into the market, the government might make many a good bargain out of the buyers of gold. In order however to do this effectually it would be necessary to have a private agent authorized to contract to deliver gold at a price fixed by contract at an appointed day to come. For the moment the government millions came into the market, the price of gold was sure to tumble down several per cent.

Thus the value of paper money, (In Yankee parlance, the price of gold) was made, we will not say to oscillate,

for oscillations are measured by equable times, but to fluctuate greatly, going up and down at most uncertain periods, which no body could foresee, except those who were in the secret of the golden ebb and flow of the treasury millions. The gold room at New York furnished a most gigantic and exciting game of hazard, immensely profitable to those who, by fee or favour, could get a timely hint from Washington, the head-quarters from which the game was played.

It is not to be supposed that the Secretary of the Treasury ventured to take upon himself the whole responsibility of this game, which so seriously affected the value of the whole currency and indebtedness of the country. He must have consulted the President and his cabinet, and secured their assent, or they, not understanding it, would soon have put a stop to this game which was played most briskly in 1870 and 1871, until in the latter year gold suddenly ran up to 1.40, and higher, and brought on the 'Black Friday' which not only ruined a crowd of the gamesters, but threatened to prove that this government paper money might be worth nothing after all.

After this catastrophe the treasury department felt compelled to use the government gold as the means of steadying the value of the paper currency; and as it has been able to do this ever since, it is evident that it might have done so before. But there seem to have been other ends aimed at, to the attainment of which these sudden fluctuations in the value of the currency, and the power of producing them, appear to have been essential.

The 'Black Friday' with other days of this series of

sudden financial fluctuations, ruined crowds of gamesters, who became bankrupt for vast amounts. But as we never heard that any high officials at Washington were losers on these occasions, we infer that, either they took no part in the game, or had the luck to be always on the winning side. Much money was doubtless made by well timed sales of government gold. But how much accrued to the benefit of the treasury, and how much to that of individuals, we know not, nor will ever know.

We will have occasion later to allude to the official robbery of almost every Southern State to the amount of tens and twenties of millions each, by the intrusive governments forced upon them by the North. But it is impossible to exhaust the list of official robberies, and difficult to over-state the amounts.

The people of the United States have become so much accustomed to fraud and robbery to the amount of millions by high officials and prominent politicians, by great bankers, merchants, manufacturers and others controlling great capital and high influence, that nothing of this kind now startles them. They have ceased to look or ask for honesty in men high in place. They have lost their perception of infamy; and, in politics at least, quite as readily trust and sustain a rogue as an honest man. Indeed they rather prefer the rogue, as they hope to get something out of him, and his ill gotten gains.

We will give an instance proving this. When Mr. Charles O'Connor, sacrificing for a time his professional interests to his patriotism, devoted himself to ferreting out the official rascalities of the notorious 'Boss' Tweed

and his colleagues, by which they had robbed the city of New York of twenty-five millions of dollars, six of which millions at least went into the pocket of Tweed alone—after Mr. O'Connor had made these monstrous rascalities, and especially Tweed's, manifest to all men, but before he could obtain his criminal conviction, Tweed's constituents, the mob of New York, sent him back as a senator in the State senate, to Albany, the very scene of many of his most remarkable acts of corruption. Could he even now wriggle himself out of the clutches of the law, while yet retaining some of his plunder, they are quite capable of sending him back again to fill the senatorial chair as the representative most worthy of his constituents.*

Boss Tweed, we believe, was originally a chair-maker, or chair painter, or of some such trade, but got his title of 'Boss' by becoming a master workman in a very different line. But let no man imagine that Boss Tweed is an anomalous character, or has run an anomalous career. He is simply a well marked type of a numerous, and many of them still prosperous class of officials, to be found in every considerable municipal corporation, in every State government, in every department of the U. S. government, in the house of Representatives and the Senate, in the cabinet and the diplomatic corps. Many of them, like Boss Tweed, have come to grief. But not a few, whose tortuous and dishonest careers are well known, still retain popular favour and high place.

Nothing can be more false than the supposition that under democratic institutions the people, or a majority

*This was written before Tweed's death in the penitentiary.

of the people, or any considerable number of them rule and govern. Under any form of government whatever, the exercise and administration of the offices and powers of government, must fall into the hands, not of the many, but of the few. The most that any considerable part of a nation can do, is to choose the official agents by whom the country is governed. To do this wisely and honestly is a very nice and difficult duty; and the election of all officials by universal suffrage is the certain way to turn all the duties and powers of government into the hands of the most designing, intriguing, and unscrupulous demagogues—and of rings or combinations of conspiring demagogues, to be used for their own purposes, to the damage and possible ruin of the country. Their statesmanship consists in hoodwinking one part of the people, bribing another, and plundering the rest.

The United States are far too sparcely peopled a country for them naturally to feel that pressure of population on the means of subsistence, which seems to be almost unavoidable in old and populous countries. Yet they have come in for more than their share of all these evils. They have their crowds of work-people, periodically, and also at uncertain, unexpected occasions, thrown out of employment, and on the verge of starvation; strikes and lock-outs on a giant scale; leading to conflicts between labour and capital, to conspiracies for secret but wholesale murder, of which the Molly McGuires are but one example; and to the open conflicts of armed thousands, amounting to civil war. In the lawless outrages in the Pennylvania coal regions, and in the

bloodshed and conflagrations growing out of the great strikes of railroad *employes* on scores of roads running through many states, we have seen only the beginning, not the end. In no country is there more open discontent and secret plotting, at war with private and social rights and interests, than among both the labouring and the idling classes in the United States.

It is true that this government by the people has for years past been very successful in making the fortunes of those who could obtain office under it, or exercise influence over those who are in office. It has made many men rich—but it has increased, not diminished the number of the poor, and deepened their poverty. No country is more over-run with loafers and tramps, and the surplus of the latter flow over the borders to the great annoyance and damage of their Canadian neighbours. The country is over-run with abandoned and criminal characters of all kinds, many of whom have enjoyed and availed themselves of good opportunities of obtaining an education. For under this popular government much has been expended in educating the people; but little can be said of the moral effects of this education. The literary training of the people serves chiefly to enable them to enjoy the Newgate calendar narratives of fresh rascalities and atrocities committed in various parts of the country, and industriously disseminated by the most licentious and libellous press that ever infested any country. It serves to familiarize them with crime and how to commit crimes. And of that portion of the people who make a profession of religion the greater part are chiefly interested in the fulminations, satires, and slanders issuing from most licentious pulpits.

Government by the people, from the broad platform of universal suffrage as the sovereign source of all law, has utterly failed to fulfil its promise to elevate the material and moral welfare of the country. It has utterly degraded both.

Having said so much of the source of government and law, we will now speak of the administration of the law in the United States.

The people of these States inherited, with English law, a wise usage in the administration of the law. The judicial office was made the object of ambition to the best members of the legal profession. It was entrusted to a lawyer of learning, ability, and unspotted reputation. His position was permanent. *Dum bene gesseret.* Nothing short of impeachment could remove him. He stood on a pedestal, the representative embodiment of impartial, passionless law—apart from professional influence, from partisan strife, from political alliances, from the low and corrupting intrigues of election politics, from busy, money-seeking pursuits; his time and attention engrossed by the study of a high and broad system of ethics, and in the application of its principles to the disentangling and the just decision of those perpetually occurring contests and litigations between man and man, and of society with individuals. If he came but half honest to his official position, he was surrounded during his official career by all those influences which most strongly tend to make a man wholly honest; and more, a learned, wise, and independent judge, a safe-guard and a treasure to the state.

That dignified and trustworthy magistrate, the judge

dum bene gesseret, whose official life lasts until he resigns his office, unless it can be proved on impeachment that he has been guilty of acts that render him unworthy of his post, has almost vanished from the horizon of the United States. It is true that the remnant of that document called 'The Constitution of the United States' yet retains that clause which provides that 'judges of the Federal courts shall hold office during good behaviour; But the judges of these courts have long been selected and put into office, not from consideration of their legal attainments and integrity of character, but for their usefulness and subserviency to the party in power. Numberless facts prove this, but one of rather late occurrence will suffice for an example.

The States, on entering into the Union, bound themselves and each other on this point: 'That no State should make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts.' They had just had late and sad experience of the ruinous and dishonest effects of paper money. A very few years ago, however, the United States government, being in urgent need of the means of meeting its vast and corrupt expenditures, Congress authorized the issue of a great amount of treasury-notes, and made them a legal tender in payment of debts. Most unexpectedly however to the government, the point coming up in a case in court, a majority consisting of the older judges of the Supreme Court of the U. S. suddenly remembered the law, the Constitution, and their own independent position, and decreed, five against four, that Congress had no power to make paper money a legal tender; that this was not among the powers

granted by the States. The government seems however to have had influence enough with the court to induce it to suppress the publication of this decree for some months; and, death meanwhile removing one of this stubborn majority of the judges, a more subservient man was put in his place. The question was then reconsidered, and it was decided, five to four, that as the States had denied to themselves the prerogative of cheating the people with false money, *therefore*, they must have granted that power to their common agent, the Federal government. This is but one sample of the many perversions of constitutional provisions—and of the usurpation of powers by the U. S. government.

In nearly all, if not all the States, the judges are, now, elected by the popular vote, or in some cases by the legislative assembly. They hold office for short terms, two or four years—receive very moderate salaries, and are seldom lawyers of the better class, in learning, ability, or character. They are in fact far more politicians than lawyers. They owe their places far more to party affiliations than professional qualifications, and must keep in with and serve their party without scruple, or some other dominant party, if they seek to retain their places when another election comes round. We have at times seen one of the most inferior lawyers in court, sitting on the bench as judge—and this is a natural result of the mode of appointment. We believe that in ordinary cases the decisions are in conformity with the law and the evidence. But there are solid grounds for the belief that, where large amounts and great interests are at stake, which can afford heavy

bribes, neither judges nor juries are often found incorruptable; and that both decrees, and verdicts frequently have been, and continue to be bought, perhaps in every State in the Union. Justice is growing more and more corrupt at the fountain head—and the longest purse furnishes the best plea.

Marriage and a due regard to the obligations of marriage are the foundation of society, of morals, and of civilization. The people of these States inherited from their English ancestors the true principles as to the objects and obligations of the marriage bond. Eschewing the loose morality of the Civil law which facilitated divorce, and permitted him who had grown old in a lewd career, to legitimate his neglected and grown up bastards by and on marrying their loose-lived mother—the English law taught that among the objects of marriage the nurture of children took a leading place, and that legitimacy consisted in being born in lawful wed-lock. It moreover laid down the Christian rule as to the binding nature of the marriage contract, allowing no divorce except for one offence against the marriage vow. The true wisdom and sound morality of this law as to the indissoluble obligation of marriage, and this rigid limitation of divorce, is proved by the observed fact that wherever it is most difficult to obtain a divorce there will be fewest cases in which it is desirable, or desired by married people. Where divorces are easily obtained there are an ever increasing number of cases in which there are good grounds for seeking it; and moreover that it is often eagerly sought for insufficient causes, and obtained by fraudulent and criminal means.

There is no one test from which we can better infer the social and moral condition of a people than that of the difficulty or the ease with which divorce may be obtained.

The laws of England and of its off-shoots in America long discountenanced divorce from the bonds of matrimony to such a point, that a decree for divorce could only be obtained in England by act of parliament, in the colonies by act of Assembly. The great cost of obtaining a decree by act of parliament (which was always founded on a previous legal decision) led not many years ago to the establishing of a special court for the decision of such cases. Divorces have become more frequent in England, but are still rare, and only decreed for very weighty causes. In one or two of the States this necessity of a decree by legislative enactment was retained even later than in England; and in one State at least, but a few years ago, there had never been a decree for divorce. And while the law stood thus, cases calling for relief by divorce never were rarer in any country.

But a sad change has taken place in the States, in the frequency of divorces, and in the frequency of the cases which would justify divorce even under more stringent laws than those which now regulate them. The Federal courts have not as yet we believe, usurped any jurisdiction in matters so foreign to the purposes of their creation, as marriage and divorce. But in almost every State the old rules as to the indissoluble character of the marriage bond have been fearfully relaxed. In many of them divorces can be decreed for utterly insufficient

causes. In some of them marriage seems to be little more binding than a partnership which may be terminated by a three months notice by one of the partners. Indeed, practically, notice of intention to sue for divorce does not always seem to be necessary. Married parties living in one State, have found themselves divorced from a husband or wife by the decree of a court in another State, in a suit which they never heard of until the decree was pronounced—the husband or wife having gone thither and resided in that State for a month or two in order to give the court a colourable jurisdiction. It is not unusual to see in some of the chief journals in the United States, advertisements by legal firms, announcing that they pay especial attention to divorce cases, and guarantee to procure decrees for divorce speedily, cheaply, and secretly. Such an advertisement itself should be made a felony.

We are far from having yet seen the full effect of this relaxation of the marriage bond. The morals of a people never rise above, often sink far below the morality of their legislation. It is in vain that the more important Christian bodies, the church of Rome, the Anglican church, and some others, set their faces against the recognition of these divorces. The tide of profligacy is too strong for them.

We know of no case in which have been considered the legal effects of loosening in one State the bond of a marriage made fast in another. It seems to us that in the latter State such a decree should be treated as a nullity. But we fear that in many States their courts would decide otherwise.

Thus the people of these States inherited from their English ancestors many valuable institutions. Among these one, the guarded franchise, was the best safe-guard against the corruption and abuse of political power, and preserved the possibility of reforming the government. Another, the independent judge, secured the wise and impartial administration of justice. A third maintained the sanctity of marriage, the foundation stone of society and civilization. But the people of these States have ruthlessly thrown away these principles, as valueless; and it is scarce worth while to inquire what more they have thrown away with them.

CHAPTER IX.

The Vast Indebtedness of the Country—and its Effects.

Few people are aware of the immense amount owing in the United States, by the Federal government, by the State governments, by municipal corporations, by railroad, manufacturing, mining and other great companies, which have long been offering tempting inducements for the vesting of capital and lending of money. We cannot ourselves approximate the amount; but we know that it is so great, that the government debt, large as it is, makes no large part of it. But we must not speak too precisely of the debt of the government; for nobody seems to know its exact amount, not even the Secretary of the Treasury. For the statements respecting it, published officially, have been several times inconsistent with each other. There has been for some years a growing suspicion that the treasury department cannot publish a true balance sheet if it would, and would not if it could.

Few people know how much of all these borrowings, investments, and expenditures in the United States have little or no profitable or useful results to show for them. Out of numberless examples we will refer to two, one of a public, the other of a more private character.

Three or four years ago the yearly expenditure of the United States on the army and navy, and other military objects was more than $80,000,000, more than two thirds

that of Great Britain. But Great Britain has a navy more powerful than that of any two, perhaps three other powers, and one of the most powerful armies in the world. The United States can hardly be said to have an army, some 22,000 or 23,000 troops; and as to the navy, it has not one single powerful iron-clad; and some four years ago it was prevented from picking a quarrel with Spain and stealing Cuba, simply by utter inability to face the Spanish navy. When, after appropriating $80,000,000 a year to maintain the army and navy, the United States government has so very little to show for it, we can only conclude that official sharpers have intercepted two thirds of the money, and applied it to their own uses.

That net work of rail-roads, which covers the United States, was built, not so much with the money of the stock-holders, as with the two or three thousand millions which they borrowed on the bonds of the companies and the mortgages of the roads. Very few of these roads have proved good investments. More than three-fourths of them are but monumental mounds raised over the money buried there by the stock-holders. By the last accounts we have seen there are already nine hundred millions of these rail-road bonds on which the companies cannot pay one cent of interest; and the amount is on the increase. Is the principal of these debts too to be buried under the monumental mounds that stretch across the country? This class of debts is only one, although the greatest, of many classes of bankrupt enterprises, and of indebtedness ruinous alike to the debtor and the creditor.

We might give numberless proofs of the fall in the value of property. A few will suffice: Much real estate in New York has been lately sold for less than it was mortgaged for. Very lately a factory in Salem, Massachusetts, costing $3,000,000, sold for $160,000—one nineteenth of the original outlay. And still worse—we see announced the sale, in New York on the 26th June, 1878, of 360,000 acres of land in McDowell County, Western Virginia, at an average of one cent per acre. This is probably mountain land, but is said to be well wooded. Being on the borders of the Northern and Southern States, the price indicates a monstrous fall in the value of property all over the country.

Passing over the great banking, mining, and manufacturing enterprises, and the land speculations, involving vast amounts, most of which have ended so disastrously for the undertakers and their creditors, we will dwell for a moment on a minor class of enterprises, which are very characteristic of the Yankee.

The people of the United States, who have among them, and know, very little of what people of the higher class in other countries call 'society,' have yet a craving for it, and, as a substitute, are fond of the publicity of 'hotel life.' This is the most vulgar taste imaginable; but it serves their purpose. The amounts expended in building monstrous hotels in the most costly styles, in commercial cities, and at places of summer resort, is astounding. And the rival amounts expended in furnishing them in the most gorgeous manner, no less astounding. They put to the blush most English noblemen's mansions and many a princely palace. Most of

these ambitious temples of mercenary hospitality—have of late proved utter failures. Hotels costing each one, and even two millions, and the furniture costing several hundreds of thousands, after a year or two have been sold for ten or twelve per cent on their cost. Just at this time the Yankee cannot afford luxurious living, and the ostentatious mimicry of refined society, afforded by a fashionable public house.

Having said some things as to the debts of the people of the United States, let us inquire how they are to pay their debts.

It is difficult to fix a limit to the amount a government may owe, and also to how much the people in the country may owe, without causing serious financial embarrassment—*provided* the creditors live in the country, and make their expenditures and investments there. But when the creditors live in another country, and have got heartly sickened of making their investments in the debtor country—*that alters the case.* For instance: At the end of the wars with France in 1815, Great Britain owed eight hundred and forty millions, sterling. This money was well spent. Better owe that amount than be over-run and torn to pieces as Prussia was in 1806. But this debt was monstrous; and the population of Great Britain was not half, nor its resources one third of what they are now. Yet from that day to this the government has punctually paid 27 or 28 millions, sterling, of yearly interest on the debt; and did so without difficulty, because the creditors lived in Great Britain, spent their incomes and made their investments there. If these millions had to be sent annually to creditors in

Germany or France, the payment would have been a heavy burden on the country. We doubt whether it would long have continued to be paid at all.

The predicament not only of the United States government, but of the States, of the municipalities, and other great corporations all over the Union is this: They have borrowed freely, for their credit was immense; they have spent freely, and often extravagantly through corrupt and unscrupulous officials, and they have very little to set off against their debts. There are cities in the Union that proclaim themselves bankrupt; There are other bankrupt cities that do not proclaim the fact. There are cities that reject their own coupons in payment of city taxes; just as the U. S. government rejects its own legal tender notes in payment of duties at the custom-house. Now although the U. S. and the State governments cannot be sued—cities are merely corporate bodies, and can be sued in theory of law; but it seems that there is not law enough in the country to enforce payment of debts by such debtors.

There is another class of debts of a peculiar character. There is not one of the Southern States which does not apparently owe many millions. Louisiana for instance owes fifty millions. The State was not much in debt in 1865—at the end of the war owing but ten millions. The other forty millions accrued under the intrusive government, thrust on the State by the U. S. government, after first disfranchising most of the chief men and property holders in the State. This intrusive government was maintained partly by the support of the negro voters, but more by the intrigues of the so-

called State officials with those in power at Washington, and by the presence of the U. S. military force; but for the presence of which this revolutionized government would not have lasted one day. The policy of this intrusive government was confiscation by taxation. This was enjoined them by their allies at the North. The legislature consisted largely of negroes whose votes were easily and cheaply bought, and it represented no property—for most of the holders of property had been disfranchised. The taxation was raised to eight or ten fold that of former times. But this did not satisfy these harpies in office, chiefly Northern men. With the sanction of their bribed legislature they issued state bonds by millions and tens of millions, and sold them in the New York money market at 20, 40, and 50 per cent discount. Forty millions of the Louisiana state bonds represent, not the extravagance, but the bribery and direct stealings of the intrusive officials whom the U. S. government put upon the State and long helped to maintain there, in order to avail itself of the negro vote.

This picture of the condition of Louisiana is applicable to that of most of the Southern States. But in spite of all the efforts to exasperate the negroes, and band them together, in opposition to the white people, the latter have begun to regain their influence and control over the State governments—and most of the late officials have found it convenient to avoid the investigation of their doings by leaving the South.

The people of Louisiana and of the other Southern States would only be doing themselves justice by spunging out every dollar of debt accruing since 1865—that

is, on an average, seven-eights of what they nominally owe. They will find it difficult to pay what they justly owe.

The condition of the Southern States renders this repudiation certain, and the sooner it comes the better.

We have said that the agricultural industry of the South is paralyzed, and its productions diminishing, althought not as fast as they formerly increased. We have said that the negroes, no longer in habitual intercourse with, and under the control of a superior race, are dwindling in number, and falling back from civilization and Christianity, into savagedom. Remembering that civilization and industry walk hand in hand, what can we anticipate for the indolent and improvident negro? How unreliable is free negro labour, is proved by the fact that the sugar planters of Jamaica, Demerara, and elsewhere, although surrounded by swarms of idle and needy negroes, go to the expense of contracting for, and importing Coolies from the other side of the world, to labour on their plantations. Why is this? Because agriculture, depending on the seasons, requires labour that can be relied on. The negro is more able bodied than the Coolie, and more at home under the tropical sun. But by physical constitution he is a drone, and mentally, little capable of keeping to a contract. A careless worker at best, he is most apt to absent himself when most wanted, as in seed time and harvest—when every day lost, hazards the returns of the toil and outlay of the whole year. The Coolies. as a race are steady and skilful labourers; while with some exceptions, the negroes both in Africa and elsewhere, have seldom practised any but an enforced industry.

But we have said little, and will here take occasion to say some things as to the condition and feelings of the white people, the true people of the Southern States.

They are fearfully impoverished. The rich have become poor, and the poor, with few exceptions have become poorer. One effect of this poverty is that the young are growing up, or have grown up with few of those advantages of education which their parents enjoyed. Higher education requires money and leisure, and the present generation have neither. Most of the better class of schools have died out from starvation. The colleges, such as survive, dwindle for want of patronage, and of funds to maintain competent instructors, always difficult to find. Many of the more able and learned clergy have been driven by want to seek livings in other parts of the Union, not readily found there. Numbers of churches, especially in country neighbourhoods, are closed from utter inability to support a pastor. The military schools, of which there were formerly one or more in each State, were imperiously closed by the Federal government. The consequence is that, in all the attributes of higher education and civilization, a very inferior generation is taking the place of that which preceded it. It took several generations to raise society in the South to the position it had reached, and which was highly progressive. It will require but one to bring it down to a very low level. Nothing has contributed more to the rapid fall of tone and feeling, than the fact that when the South sprang to arms, to defend itself against its assailants and invaders, the educated

mere forgeries by the chief officers of the State. We do not remember the amount of the whole of these issues; but we believe, although these sums sound fabulous, that the Georgia bonds amounted to fifty millions; those of Louisiana to forty millions; South Carolina. thirty-four millions; Alabama, thirty-three millions; North Carolina, twenty-five millions; the very poor State of Florida, fifteen millions.

In order to give a sort of sanction and security to their spoils, these official robbers, in some of the States, called in all the bonds or certificates of indebtedness, held by creditors of the State for money justly and long due—and compelled them, under the threat of receiving nothing, to exchange their old bonds for equal amounts in the new bonds lately issued; the object being to render the honest and the fraudulent debts undistinguishable from each other.

Now that the true people of the Southern States are regaining the control of their own State governments in spite of the machinations of their Northern enemies—they have two financial duties to fulfil. One is to look back for proofs as to who the real creditors of the State were, and to what amount; and the second is, to repudiate every State bond that has been issued since 1865. These are merely the evidences of the frauds perpetrated on them by their enemies. When they have done themselves that justice we will hear no more of nearly three hundred millions of fraudulent State bonds.

Some foolish people will object that this will destroy the credit of these States. But that will prove a blessing. Their credit has been a curse to them, being the

chief means by which their enemies plundered them.

But nothing is more contagious than repudiation. It will become epidemic, as catching as small-pox among an unvaccinated crowd. What the Southern States can do honestly, and will be great fools not to do, will be eagerly imitated as the means of getting rid of honest debts. And who can say how many thousand millions are owed abroad, exactly where it is most difficult to pay them? It is very inconvenient to the U. S. government, the greatest debtor in the country, to pay one hundred and twenty millions of interest yearly; and most of this goes out of the country. Many of the Northern States owe large amounts. Many cities are deeply in debt. New York owes at least one hundred and thirty millions, Philadelphia ninety millions, and so on. A multitude of corporations, besides the municipal, owe many millions each. Who knows how much of all this is due to foreign creditors? We do not. But much as the people of the United States boast of the immensity and value of their wheat crops, we doubt whether, on an average year, the whole of it would pay the interest on their foreign debt.

In their day of prosperity both the government and people made the most of their credit by running boundlessly into debt on the faith of resources, which have failed or are fast failing them. They have lost the productions of their tributary Southern provinces, where the crops at the best barely repay the cost of growing them. They have lost the profits of their manufacturing investments, based on their command of the trade and tribute of these provinces. They have sunk a vast

robbers, who have plundered the Southern States for the last twelve years, they cannot fail to recognise the emissaries of that whole people who have been plundering and insulting, and striving to degrade them for fifty years. As to any part they can take in the struggles for power in the Union, it is merely choosing which party they shall be robbed by, for this systematic robbery of the agricultural South continues in full force. With his experience of their character and conduct, the only natural and just sentiment a right thinking Southern man can cultivate towards the mass of people, with which his State was formerly unhappily confederated, and to which it is now more unhappily subjected, is a sound, wholesome feeling of detestation. He can only lose this feeling by the perversion of his moral sense, by losing his perception of the distinction between truth and falsehood, between right and wrong. If he be vindicative as well as conscientious, he may find some consolation on seeing that in bringing down an avalanche on the South, his enemies have covered themselves with the same mass of ruin.

The people of the Southern States have at times lately shown an animosity at least partially misdirected, the result of the natural antipathy between different races. Many of them have exhibited more bitterness against the negroes, who have been, for all political purposes, mere tools in the hands of others, than against the true enemies of the South. It is true that the insolence and outrages of the negroes, when stirred up and spurred on by agents who cautiously kept themselves in the background—have been most exasperating. But nothing can

justify that animosity against the negroes, if it be not backed by a deeper animosity against the people of the Northern States.

It would be strange and unnatural if the people of the South silently and quietly acquiesed in the domination of the Government, for any other reason than that they see no prospect of getting rid of that domination. They are still systematically robbed, but their poverty yields little plunder.

Having said thus much of what the feelings of the people of the Southern States are, and ought to be—we will return to their financial condition.

Most of the States owed some debt before the war. But the heaviest was small compared with the resources of the State at that time. These debts are still justly due, but it will task these now impoverished States to pay them. Some of these States incurred further debts during the war and for its maintenance. But the United States government compelled them to repudiate these obligations. It taught them a lesson in repudiation. Yet these were honest debts binding on the conscience of the States.

When the State governments were overthrown and remodelled according to orders from Washington, the Northern men and Southern turn-coats into whose hands place and power fell, availing themselves of the aid of the negro majorities in the State legislatures, issued from time to time large amounts of State bonds, as the means of bribing the legislature, but yet more of making their own fortunes. Many of these bonds had not even the sanction of a bribed legislature, but were

classes were naturally most awake to the danger, and most alive to the duty of promptly defending their country. The ranks of the volunteer army were largely, perhaps chiefly filled by the young men of the best, and best educated classes, those that more often furnish the officers than the privates of an army. The greater part of this class of volunteers fell in the four years war, many of them as officers, but many still in the ranks. There are few large and well known family connections in the South which cannot count up several of its most valued scions thus lost to them; and many a family circle is left without a male heir. The better part of the high spirit, of the mental culture, of the noble aspirations in the South was prematurely cut off—thus happier than the part that survived it.

But changed and fallen as the South is, it cannot yet have forgotten the position it once occupied, or what and who they were that reduced it to its present condition. It is true that there are some men, once the foremost and loudest among the patriots of the Southern States, and some of whom had even distinguished themselves in the Confederate service, who now render themselves conspicuous by their eager efforts to conciliate their old enemies. These men belong to that class whose souls revolt at having been caught on the losing side of a conflict. They feel an irresistible craving for office and prominent position, and these things are now in the gift of the enemies of their country. To satisfy this craving they are eager to fraternize with the enemy. They not long since thoroughly detested the United States flag as the symbol of a usurping tyranny·

Now they feel a reviving affection for the old stars and stripes. They seek occasions to display it ostentatiously and to parade under its folds. The ranks of the old volunteer corps, reduced to skeletons in the war, they refill with new recruits, and exchange military visits with similar bodies in Northern cities, feast with them, and pledge themselves to patriotic union and personal friendships, disgraceful if false, more disgraceful if true. They escort Yankee orators on their tours through the conquered South, and listen to and applaud their advice to, and comments upon, the people of the conquered country. They lackey the heels of a prominent enemy of their State and country, assiduously seeking his favour and patronage, because he is the successful usurper of what is itself a usurpation, having stolen the chief magistracy of a government, the existence of which is robbery and tyranny, and ruin to the Southern States. After the disastrous issue of the war in their defence, these are the men, whose restless vanity and self-seeking for office and favour thrust them forward as the healers and patchers up of the breach between the two parts of the 'Union.'

But surely we misjudge the South if we interpret the silent many by the talking few. It is not thirteen years since the people of the Southern States were engaged in a war in defence of all that was dear to them. Those who can think and feel, cannot doubt, to day, that the cause in which they took arms was quite as just as they imagined it be in 1861. All the consequences that have followed the failure of the 'Lost cause' make the justice of that cause more manifest. In the official thieves and

amount in a net-work of rail-roads all over the country, which barely yield the cost of running them. They have lost their once profitable ship-building, and their carrying trade. They have laid waste their forests, and lost their timber trade. They have exterminated the wild animals of the country, from the buffalo to the beaver, and have lost their fur and peltry trade. They have exhausted the virgin soil of the country, and are making half crops from worn out lands. They have turned the fertility of the country into money, and have now neither the money nor the fertility. They have borrowed, traded, built, invested and spent, as if they were very rich; and are just beginning to find out that they are very poor.

The inventive Yankee has lately added a new term to commercial and financial phraseology; but not before he had urgent need of it. It is that ominous word 'Shrinkage.' They now find frequent occasion to use it. With them now everything is shrinking. Until lately every one of them has been revelling in the hope of making his fortune by some stroke of genius or luck. Whatever he got hold of he exaggerated its value, even to himself, and yet more to other people. He spent money and incurred debt on it, and looked for great profit from it. He was continually buying, selling, borrowing money, and lending credit, until gradually he finds that his promising investments are making very poor returns, and his profits are turned into losses. Everything in his hands, stocks of all kinds, banking, rail-road, manufacturing, mining, and lands both for building and farming —all his speculations shrink, and shrivel, and wither up,

unveiling the vast amount of folly and rascality which has been at work behind them. Everything of theirs has shrunken but their indebtedness.

But they do not see how permanent this shrinkage is. Sanguine people in the United States look upon the present financial embarrassment and industrial distress as a crisis caused by over-trading and the abuse of credit in its various forms, especially that of credit money, paper promises to pay coin. This they think has caused a disturbance in the distribution, for a time interrupting the production, of all that makes wealth. Like other such crises, they think, it will soon pass away.

But in those crises the causes were temporary, and the effect temporary. Now the causes are permanent, and the effect will be permanent. The means of production are permanently diminished, and further diminution goes on. The fertility of the South is as unavailable for profitable production as if its soil had been stricken with barrenness. All the vast outlay of the North in order to avail itself of the production and the market of the South and the tribute it drew from thence, is utterly thrown away. The Southerner was their best customer once, but he is bankrupt now and in gaol. His assets do not pay the whole cost of keeping him there. When the rest of the Union come to look into their own resources at home, those from field and forest, from manufactures, commerce and the merchant marine, they are found to be wasting away from year to year. As the population of the United States grows, the more exhausted and bare and stubborn will they find the regions out of which they must draw the means

of living. A Chinese industry and economy must revolutionize their habits of life.

Of the immense indebtedness of the government and people of the United States, more than half is due to foreigners. It is peculiarly difficult to pay foreign debts. Perhaps that is not the worst point of view for the creditor. There is very little desire to pay them. There is a strong prejudice everywhere against absentee proprietors. And that is exactly the position the foreign creditors hold. To pay them their rent the United States must every year export at least two hundred millions worth more than they import. Yet there is a school of economists who absurdly say that the balance of trade is in favour of a country—when it exports more than it imports.

But the United States government has educated the people not to pay debts when they become burdensome; and they have learned their lesson thoroughly. We will give one proof of this.

The States, when they formed the Union, were well aware of the mischief produced by having different laws on the subject of bankruptcy in each of the thirteen States so closely allied in commerce as well as politics. So one of the powers they delegated to the Congress of the U. S. was 'To establish uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcy throughout the United States' Now the conceptions as to what bankrupt laws were, in the minds of the State delegations which drew up and executed that treaty called 'the Constitution of the U. S.' were derived from British legislation. Every lawyer knows that the chief object of the British bankrupt laws, and

of those of other European nations, was to protect honest creditors against fraudulent debtors; and that the bankrupt laws applied only to persons in trade. The debtor does not seek the protection of the bankrupt law; but the creditor does.

But by the legerdemain of the U. S. Congress it became the debtor of every kind, not traders only, who took advantage of the law, while the creditors sought to keep him out of bankruptcy. The intention of that clause in the Constitution was that Congress should provide one permanent statute of bankruptcy, to be enforced in all the States and in the State courts. Congress did something very different. For not a few years it provided no bankrupt law at all. But on the first great financial crisis, such as once or twice in a generation seems to befall every commercial country, Congress was beseiged by all the rash and wild speculators and reckless runners into debt, who clamoured for a bankrupt law for their relief. The prayer was granted. It may well be supposed that a bankrupt law passed in this spirit made very imperfect provision for guarding the creditors from the grossest frauds. When all the enterprising but luckless speculators of that day had been relieved of their burdens, in order that they might start, lightened of all incumbrance, in a new pursuit ot vast and speedy gains, the bankrupt law was repealed; and not until a new financial crisis, and fresh clamours from ruined gamesters called for it, was another bankrupt law provided for their relief. The United States have had several of these temporary bankrupt acts—and have at times been for years without any, until a new finan-

cial crisis called for one. In truth, they were not *bona fide* bankrupt laws—but an occasional provision made for the wiping out of debt. The people have been thoroughly educated on this point.

But as to the matter of how to avoid fulfilling their engagements, and how to circumvent those who deal with them, the diplomatic dealings of their own government afford them many valuable lessons.

We have not time to refer to more than one or two of these many achievements in negotiation. While the United States has given no indemnification or even apology for, or security against such national outrages as the Fenian expeditions, planned, organized, and openly set on foot in the U. S., and which the government made no earnest effort to prevent, and by which the British Dominion of Canada was invaded by armed and organized forces marching out of the U. S. and which had to be driven back by Canadian volunteers and British soldiers—while the sympathisers in the U. S. with the Cubans, in arms against the Spanish government, were fitting out in the ports of the U. S. armed expeditions in aid of the Cuban rebels—at this very time the U. S. government had the assurance to demand of the British government indemnification for the damage done to the commerce of the U. S. by certain confederate cruisers, the Alabama and others, on the ground that these steamers had been bought in England—and their armaments had also been procured there. The Confederate agents had indeed made these two descriptions of purchases separately, and then skilfully brought them together at sea, or in foreign ports. Now British

ship-builders have been constantly selling ships to foreign governments and individuals, and manufacturers of arms of all sorts carrying on a similar trade. As long as armed vessels prepared for war, and organized military expeditions, do not sail from British ports, the government is not responsible for the ultimate use of these warlike appliances.

The strange part of this affair is that the Yankees were successful in making good their claim for damages. They induced the British government, in a quaker-like spirit, to refer the question to arbitration, and they manipulated the arbitrators so skilfully that they adjudged to them sixteen millions of dollars damages; and when they carried the money home they found out that the real damage their merchants and ship-owners had suffered amounted to only half that sum. What sort of inducement had they used to lead the arbitrators to adjudge double the amount?

What we cannot understand is how any British ministry, without having demanded indemnification for such notorious and insulting outrages as the Fenian invasions of Canada, openly gotten up in the United States, and without exacting security against their recurrence, should have listened for one moment to so flimsy a claim as that for the damage done by the Confederate cruisers.

It can only be accounted for by the peculiarity of Mr. Gladstone's statesmanship, which consists in yielding up a little of the rights of his friends, in order to pacify and conciliate his enemies—be they Fenian Irish, interloping Yankees, or bullying Germans.

It is just in this spirit that Mr. Gladstone's colleague for foreign affairs, Lord Granville, dealt with Bismark's insolent and bullying complaint, that the British manufacturers were selling arms and munitions of war to the French government, with which Germany was at war; doing exactly the same thing that the German government permits the great Krupp cannon foundry to do: to supply hundreds of heavy rifle cannon to Russia, which is at war with Turkey, Germany being at peace with both countries.

The diplomatic Lord Granville did not reply, that, Great Britain being at peace with France, British manufacturers had a right to sell to France whatever France wanted. That if this supplying France with British made arms embarrassed the German government, it had only to blockade the French ports in accordance with the law of nations. Until that was done the British government would see that British trade was not interfered with by any foreign power.

The diplomatic secretary returned no such manly answer. It was not in him. But he bowed, and polished one palm against the other, and apologized and explained, and protested that Great Britain beamed with good will towards Germany, and begged leave to assure the German chancellor that he felt for him the most distinguished consideration.

We must go at least as far back in English history as the reign of Charles the 2nd., to find so cringing a ministry, so ready to sacrifice the honour, interest, and safety of their country, to keep themselves in power. What chance had such statesmen with the cunning

Yankee, who had impressed them with the conviction that he was a great power, and who knew their dread of war, and their readiness to pay Dane-gelt to buy their peace? Had the United States been some petty state they would have treated the claim for damage from the Confederate cruisers with contempt. Little did they know the true condition of the United States, and their inability to wage war with anybody. They had just sneaked out of a war with Spain, from whom they wished to steal Cuba. The United States have no real navy, although they pay for one; not even one powerful ship. A few British iron clads could seal up their ports, and let them fume away their rage under blockade. The United States cannot now wage war even with so feeble a power as Mexico. They cannot raise the money necessary to carry it on. To every million expended in efficient preparation and operations, a margin of two millions and more must be allowed for peculation, waste, and stealage.

Another instance at home, will show the peddling littleness, as well as the fraudulent nature of Yankee diplomacy. Within five years or so, the government made a treaty with a tribe of indians, by which the tribe had allotted to them as their reserve, that is their permanent territory, a region embracing the Black Hills in Dakota, and some of the surrounding country. This region was wretchedly poor, and nobody wanted it. But the indians, being in the power of the government, accepted the treaty, taking what they could get. But, a year or two after, it was rumoured that rich veins of gold had been found in the Black Hills. At once

adventurers of the most reckless character began to flock thither. The government found that the lands were too valuable to be left in the hands of the indians, and at once set about upsetting its own treaty; and the indian chiefs were summoned to Washington to make a new one. We need not tell our readers that the indians lost the Black Hills. There is a good deal of obscurity in these negotiations, of which we get only the Yankee account. But the terms in which they report the events in their indian wars betray their mode of dealing with the indian. When some hero like General Custer rides with his dragoons into an encampment of a hundred indian lodges, and, the warriors being all away hunting, he massacres four or five hundred squaws and children—that is a glorious victory! When the same hero rides into another indian village, but there happen to be at hand a thousand or twelve hundred lodges which he did not see, and all the warriors being at home, fall upon him, and cut off his command to the last man, the whole Yankee country raise a howl at this 'horrid massacre!' They have so perverted the use of language that they have lost the sense of truth.

We have not time to quote further examples of their diplomacy. We have heard of Punic faith, we know something of Russian diplomacy, we are familiar with Napoleonic negotiations, both '*par moi et mon oncle*,' we have seen something of Bismarck policy; but for solid, downright political swindling, both at home and abroad, we back the Yankee against the field. He is fully educated up to his long-established point of honour: to circumvent everybody, and not tolerate the

disgrace of being himself taken in. As a sample of their dealings, it is not too soon to refer to the five and a half millions adjudged to Canada by the joint commission on the fisheries question—money which the Canadians are enjoying in anticipation ; while the Yankees are racking their brains for excuses for not paying it. But the Gladstone ministry being no longer in power, it may be hazardous to refuse to pay the money due.

One of the latest and greatest political frauds ever perpetrated in the United States is the late Presidential election. It is peculiar in this, that it was high treason against their lord and master, the sovereign majority, to whom they had hitherto been faithful. Even if it consisted of the veriest mob, it was, until now, sure of their allegiance.

Two parties, the Republicans and the Democrats, have for years divided the people of the United States. The foreigner should be warned that these party names afford no indication of their principles, if they have any. Nor do we mean to imply that one party is more honest than the other. But the Democrats, having been for years out of office, have been long practising, as to official duties and public money, and enforced honesty. But they were heartily tired of being robbed, while they got no share of the plunder.

Some years ago a number of prominent people, in the city of New York, whose pockets were drained by city taxation, combined to force an investigation, by process of law, into the monstrous frauds and rascalities practised on the city treasury; and they induced Mr. Charles O'Connor to become their chief counsel and agent in the

matter. We have before alluded to Mr. O'Connor's perseverance and partial success, and the exposure of Boss Tweed, as the New York mob loved to call him, and that of his colleagues. Now Tweed was a Democrat, who played into the hands of the Republicans.

This partial success at reform strengthening the hands of the Democratic party in the State, they with much difficulty procured the election of Mr. Tilden as governor of New York. We know nothing of Mr. Tilden except that he is a great lawyer, is believed to be an honest man, and not much given to politics. He was made governor for a special purpose.

While Boss Tweed and his colleagues were plundering the city treasury to the amount of twenty-five millions or so, another ring were plundering the State treasury to an unknown amount. The State had spent upon the great Erie canal a great many more millions than the canal will ever pay back to it. Besides its first cost, it has proved a source of great yearly expenditure. For, being managed by a Board of Canal Commissioners, and needing constant repair, the commissioners and the contractors for repairs laid their heads together, and, by false estimates and extravagant payments, cheated the State out of many millions, which, we suppose, they fairly divided with each other. This game had been played for many years, perhaps from the first laying out of the canal. At length Mr. Tilden was set to work to ferret out these rascalities, and achieved much success. It was hoped that by making him governor he would be in a position to do his work more thoroughly still. His zeal and ability were great; but we understand

that corruption was so firmly planted and so strongly propped by party support, that he was not able to perfect his reforms. Both he and Mr. O'Connor, in pursuit of justice, found some of the most stubborn obstacles blocking up the road, in the persons of some judges on the bench, put in office on party and corrupt considerations.

Now the Democratic party, having been long out of office, had become great reformers and very honest men. Probably they did embody most of that class. The greatest rogues had long since gone over to the party in power. A Presidential election was coming on. Mr. Tilden's success in his late undertakings had made him widely and favourably known throughout the Union; and he seemed to be the most available candidate they could take up. In this they were mistaken. His reputation was based altogether on his zeal and ability in ferreting out rascality in office. But after sixteen years of office and power enjoyed by one party—the Republicans—the government had become more than an Augean stable; to clean it out would have engendered a pestilence. So vast an amount of evidence of peculation, fraud, and direct stealing had accumulated in the bureaus of every department of government, and in every clerk's desk, that it would ruin thousands of the most influential men in the country to bring these things to light.

The Republican politicians had been so long in office, that almost every man had grown rich in it; and besides their own money and patronage, they had command of all the resources of the government, including the army and treasury; and banding together like a band of

brothers, or rather robbers, they resolved to use all possible means of defence. When the chairman of an election returning board in a Southern State was instructed as to what was expected of him in his manipulation of the returns as to the Presidential election, well might he say, 'There is money in it ; yes, a million of money in the job !'

The alarm and indignation of the Republicans was intense, but they strove to conceal it : "What ! Tilden in the Presidential chair, searching into every official and party transaction that cannot bear the light ! No ! we will move heaven, earth, and hell to defeat him." And they did, and with success.

It were long to tell the intrigues and corruption by which this result was brought about. And they have already been well explained and exposed, especially by Judge Black of Pennsylvania, in his article published in the North American Review.

When the election had taken place, but before the result was officially declared, General Grant, the President in office, emboldened the conspiring Republicans to persevere in and perfect their plans, by drawing together troops and armed vessels at Washington, by repairing and mounting guns on the old earthworks commanding the roads leading thither ; and by forbidding an assembly and great procession at Washington, planned by the Democrats as a manifestation of their joy at Tilden's supposed election. Grant thus manifested his resolution to see Mr. Hayes, and no one else, placed as his successor in the Presidential chair. It would have suited Grant as little as any of his party, to have unfriendly and

prying successors investigating the transactions of their predecessors in office.

The Republican conspirators had made the utmost efforts, in every State where the vote was much divided, to suppress the true result, where it told against them. And by inducing the returning boards, which investigated and registered the result of the election, in Louisiana and Florida, to suppress the true returns and substitute false returns, they deprived Mr. Tilden of a majority of thirteen votes in the electoral college, and gave Mr. Hayes a majority of one; and when Congress appointed a commission of fifteen to decide on the result of the election, of the five judges of the Supreme Court placed on this commission, three made themselves ready and zealous tools for perfecting the fraud; to give one instance—they promptly decided a point of law one way when it told in Mr. Hayes' favour, but another way when it would have told against him.

Mr. Hayes, a mere usurper, coolly walked into an office to which he was not elected; and Mr. Tilden, the real President, was left at leisure to resume his practice at the bar; to return to spreading the net of the law to catch shoals of small rogues; but the great rogues who steal State and Federal governments, and their treasuries, easily broke through the meshes of his net.

We hope, for the honour of manhood, that there are few countries, in which such a transaction would not have raised a row. But the Yankees, unless they have very long odds of numbers in their favour do not fight.

The voters, who elected Mr. Tilden President, being only a considerable and not a great majority, took their

strategetic defeat like lambs. They tamely pocketed their sovereign right, to be pulled out at some more convenient season; and left laws, rights, liberties, and the tattered remnant of the Constitution to take care of themselves. They prudently argued that any political agitation and conflict, just at this time, would aggravate the financial crisis; and there was already more of that in the country than they knew how to deal with. Let the world slide and each man take care of himself.

Although want of access to documentary evidence, and an occasional hasty inference may have led us into some errors, we are confident that this is by no means an erroneous exposition of the present condition of the United States.

It may be very difficult, but far from impossible to recuperate the soil of the great democratic republic, but what can regenerate the people?

THE END.

VIVIAN, PRINTER, CLARENCE STREET, LONDON, ONT.

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